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ABSTRACT

The United States has at least three historically established patterns of language use: English monolingualism, multilingualism, and bilingualism. The United States could best be described at present as a multilingual nation in which English is the dominant language. English is promoted to varying degrees, but linguistic diversity is tolerated. The purposes of this highly descriptive report are twofold. First, American linguistic diversity and language policy are surveyed to provide some of the important contexts and conditions of language education for language minority students. Second, in the process of examining the policy and processes of bilingual and English-as-a-Second-Language programs, the educational characteristics of language minority speakers, those students designated as limited English proficient (LEP) are detailed in depth. A set of research questions is developed, and these questions are framed within the context of the Six Nation Education Research Project. These questions focus on how schools structure opportunities and incentives for language minority learners to acquire language and literacy and consider such things as ways to focus on the learner, how to account for economics and the sociopolitical context of language, the effects of national educational policies, and what policy modifications would enhance these opportunities and incentives. Numerous data-rich tables and figures give a thorough picture of American linguistic diversity and language policies, providing a solid framework for framing the research questions. Two appendices and an extensive bibliography are included. (Contains 99 references.) (KFT)

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WORKING PAPERS
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SPECIAL EDITION

The Six Nation Education Research Project
The United States: A Country Report

Language Education of Language Minority Students in the United States

Nancy H. Hornberger, Leslie Harsch and Bruce Evans
(assisted by Melisa Cahnmann)

University of Pennsylvania

Volume 15, Number 1 **Fall, 1999**

Dear WPEL readers,

We are proud to bring you the latest issue of the University of Pennsylvania's Working Papers in Educational Linguistics. The work contained in this publication represents the interests and research projects of the students and faculty associated with the Language in Education Division.

Our mission is the share the current and on-going work of our students and faculty with our worldwide readership. We also aim to work with our contributors to make their "working papers" into scholarly articles ready for publication in the top journals in our field.

In this special issue of WPEL we are excited to share with you a report from the Six Nation Education Research Project (SNERP). The purposes of this report are to survey U.S. linguistic diversity and language policy, and to examine the policy and processes of bilingual and English as a second language programs in the United States.

In addition to our advisor, Nancy Hornberger, we gratefully acknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: Lorraine Hightower, Penny Creedon, and Suzanne Oh.

We hope that you find this special issue of WPEL as engaging and worthy of scholarly interest as we have.

The editors

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The Six Nation Education Research Project

The United States: A Country Report

Language Education of Language Minority Students in the United States

Nancy H. Hornberger, Leslie Harsch, and Bruce Evans
(assisted by Melisa Cahnmann)

University of Pennsylvania

Introduction

The United States has at least three historically established patterns of language use: English monolingualism, multilingualism, and bilingualism (Haugen, 1978; Kloss, 1977; McKay, 1997; Spener, 1994). The U.S. could perhaps be best described as "a multilingual nation in which English is the dominant language" (Wiley, 1996, p. 12).

English monolingualism is well established. As reported in the 1990 Census of Population, 86 percent of the total population spoke English at home, and it can be assumed that an even greater number spoke English at school or work. Despite the lack of national language policy, English is the usual language of the public domain and is associated with political power, social status, and economic and educational advantages. Nearly all non-English speaking language groups in the U.S. undergo Anglicization at varying rates (Veltman, 1983).[1]

English has never been the exclusive language of the United States.[2] The 14 percent of the total population that did not speak English at home in 1990 used a diverse number of languages—380 were identified. Diversity has characterized the U.S. since colonial times: Five hundred languages were spoken by the indigenous peoples encountered by colonizers (who themselves spoke Spanish, French, German, Russian, Swedish, and Dutch), and today, approximately 200 North American Indian language traditions remain.[3] During the 19th century, successive waves of immigration supplied a constant minority language presence, though shifting in national origin. From 1820-1880, 10 million English and non-English speakers from northern Europe entered, and from 1880-1920, in the so-called "Great Wave," another 23 million predominantly non-English speakers from southern Europe entered (*The American Almanac*, 1993, p. 10). In the 1970's, immigration from Europe began to decrease while immigration from Asia, Latin American and Caribbean countries increased.

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[1] According to Veltman (1983), non-English speaking immigrants will switch to English monolingualism or English bilingualism over one or two generations, sometimes slightly longer in the case of Spanish speakers. Speakers of Navajo, the largest Native American language group, are an important exception. It should be noted that English has been significantly influenced by language contact with non-English speaking groups, as studies of regional and social variation of American English reveal (Labov, 1966; Rickford, 1996; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998).

[2] One popular nativist belief is that one has to give up non-English languages and other aspects of ethnic identity to become truly American. Alternating waves of nativism and toleration characterize U.S. public life; by most accounts, we are currently in a nativist phase (McKay, 1997).

The U.S. environment promotes English and to a varying extent tolerates linguistic diversity. Public opinion generally favors the rapid acquisition of English by non-English language groups, because multilingualism is perceived by some "as a dangerous threat to national unity" (Conklin & Lourie, 1983, p. 157) or because English proficiency is seen by others as the key to economic well being and social integration. The U.S. context also tolerates a sidestream tradition of non-English language maintenance as an aspect of ethnic identity, sustained by ethnic community schools, ethnic periodicals, TV and radio, and religious institutions (Fishman, Nahirny, Hoffman, & Hayden, 1966/1978; Fishman, Gertner, Lowy, & Milán, 1985; Kloss, 1977). For example, Spanish-English bilingualism is an important aspect of U.S. linguistic diversity (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990; Zentella, 1997).[4] From a historical perspective, the U.S. has passed through periods of tolerance and intolerance of language minorities (Crawford, 1991).

The purposes of this Phase One report are to survey U.S. linguistic diversity and language policy as they provide some of the important contexts and conditions of language education for language minority students (Part 1), and to examine the policy and processes of bilingual and English as a second language programs (Part 2), leading to a set of research questions. The research questions are framed within the context of the Six Nation Education Research Project (SNERP).[5] We will not be discussing dialectal varieties of English or foreign language instruction to native speakers of English.

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[3] See Leap (1981, 1993) on indigenous American Indian and Alaska Native languages; see Fishman, Nahirny, Hoffman & Hayden (1966/1978); Ferguson & Heath (1981); Conklin & Lourie (1983); Molesky (1988) on colonial and immigrant languages.

[4] For an overview of ethnographic work on U.S. multilingual communities, see McKay (1997, pp. 255-56).

[5] SNERP was initiated at the Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, in 1993, and has the overall goal of examining the relationship of educational investment and economic growth through cross-national comparison.

A note on terminology. The following acronyms are used in the literature to refer to U.S. residents who are speakers of languages other than English: HSNEL (home speaker of non-English languages), LEP (limited English proficient), LM (language minority), speaker of LOTE (languages other than English), and ELL (English language learner). Each has a somewhat distinct context, scope and political nuance. *HSNEL* refers to people who responded "yes" to the census language question, "Does this person speak a language other than English at home?" *LEP* is a legal term intended to define the population in potential need of language education services: An LEP individual is someone who "was not born in the United States or whose native language is a language other than English and comes from an environment where a language other than English is dominant" (see Appendix B for the full definition). The LEP population is generally seen as a subset of HSNEL, although language minority advocates point out that limited English proficient people who speak only English at home are not included in the HSNEL count. *LEP* and *HSNEL* are terms most often used in government documents and research. In our tables based on census data and in citing specific data from documents that use these terms, we also use them because we consider this to be the most accurate way to refer to the data collected. In discussing English as a Second Language (ESL) and bilingual education, we often refer to *language minority* students. This expression is also frequently used in legislation and research to discuss the language characteristics of those from households where at least one other person speaks a language other than English. *Language minority* is appropriate as a general category because many instructional programs encompass all language minority students, not just those identified as LEP.

An increasing number of language researchers have turned away from using *HSNEL, LEP*, and *language minority*, considering them to be harmful because of the implied focus on language deficit. Some substitute *speakers of LOTE* for *HSNEL*, for example, emphasizing the positive value of speaking other languages, rather than grouping speakers into a category according to what they are not. In discussing census figures in Part 1, we use the term *home speakers of languages other than English* interchangeably with *home speakers of non-English languages* to refer to exactly the same population group. Another acronym, *ELL*, is used by researchers to substitute for *LEP* and *language minority*, emphasizing the positive goal of learning rather than a perceived deficiency on the part of the learner. According to LaCelle-Peterson and Rivera,

> "English Language Learners" (ELLs) refers to students whose first language is not English, and encompasses both students who are just beginning to learn English (often referred to as "limited English proficient" or "LEP") and those who have already developed considerable proficiency. The term underscores the fact that, in addition to

> meeting all academic challenges that face their monolingual peers, these students are mastering another language something too few monolingual English speakers are currently asked to do in U.S. schools. (1994, p. 55n)

In our discussion of bilingual and ESL language education process, we use *ELL* as the term that best reflects the students' perspective on special language education classrooms.[6]

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[6] For more detailed information on these terms and other language-related terms, see "Definition of Subject Characteristics" in Bureau of the Census (1992, pp. B-23-B-25); August & Hakuta, 1997, p. 1n; Improving America's Schools Act of 1994, Title VII, Part E, Sec. 7501 (see Appendix B); National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (1996); *Numbers and Needs*, March 1993 (Vol. 3, no. 2). *LOTE* is used in García & Fishman (1997).

PART ONE

CONTEXTS AND CONDITIONS FOR LANGUAGE MINORITY EDUCATION

Language Diversity in the United States

The following five generalizations can be made about language diversity in the U.S., based on a review of the census data.[7] They are intended as characterizations of language groups in reference to this set of data and are not intended to essentialize or stigmatize any particular group.[8] Each generalization will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs:

(1) After English, Spanish is the language spoken by the most people in the U.S.. Significant numbers of speakers of other Indo-European, Native North American, Asian and Pacific Islander, and Arabic languages are also represented.

(2) Non-English language speakers are broadly, but unevenly, distributed throughout the 50 states and the District of Columbia. In 1980-1990, California had the highest number and New Mexico had the highest percentage of non-English speakers.

(3) Overall, the home use of non-English languages has steadily increased since 1980. Immigration from Asia, Mexico, South/Central America, and the Caribbean explains some, but not all, of the increase.

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[7] The 1990 U.S. Census included language questions only on the sample component, known as the Long Form, which was sent to one in six houses. This mail-in questionnaire asked for self-reported, written responses to the following questions: (15a) "Does this person speak a language other than English at home?" If yes, (15b) "What is this language?" and (15c) "How well does this person speak English?"

Controversy surrounded the 1990 Census, in particular the language data, concerning the undercount of minorities and illegal immigrants (*Numbers and Needs,* May 1993, Vol. 3, no.3). The census language data has several other limitations: Respondents' answers may be influenced by their perception of the status of their language or ethnic group, by the sense of privacy of the information, or by the sense that it would be "somehow un-American" not to speak English (Waggoner, 1988, p. 71). Also, census data is not tied to an objective measure of speaking proficiency, and it does not ask about literacy, so census data must be combined with other data in order to identify a need for special language education services. Without a question about mother tongue accompanying the question about current spoken language use (15b), the census data cannot be reliably used to estimate language maintenance and shift (Lopez, 1982; Veltman, 1983).

The census data in this report is derived from Bureau of the Census (1992), *Census of Population and Housing;* Bureau of the Census (1997), "Language Use Data" [online]; *The American Almanac* (1993); and secondary analyses of language data published bimonthly in Waggoner (1991-98), *Numbers and Needs: Ethnic and Linguistic Minorities in the United States.*

[8] See Spack (1997) and Wiley (1996) on the problems of essentialization in collecting and analyzing data according to language, ethnic, and racial categories.

(4) Most U.S. non-English speakers can be broadly defined as English bilinguals. The majority of those who do not speak English at all are Spanish speakers and/or recent immigrants. Speakers of Asian languages have the most difficulty with English.

(5) In general, speakers of non-English languages appear to be shifting to English but at varying rates. Spanish and Navajo speakers appear to be more language retentive.

(1) Home speakers of languages other than English comprise 14 percent of the total U.S. population. Three hundred and eighty non-English languages spoken at home were identified on the 1990 U.S. Census, grouped into 25 language families as shown on Table 1. The Spanish-speaking population is the largest single-language group, representing approximately 8 percent of the total U.S. population and 54 percent of the non-English language population. The 17.3 million home speakers of Spanish include those of Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and South/Central American descent. Another 19 percent of the population of home speakers of languages other than English consists of French, German, Chinese, and Italian speakers, each with one million or more. Tagalog, Polish, Korean, other Indo-European language (Armenian, Gaelic, Lithuanian, etc.), Indic languages (Hindi, Bengali, Gujarathi, etc.), and Vietnamese are each spoken by a half million or more. A wide variety of Indo-European, Asian and Pacific Islander, and Native North American languages, Hungarian, Arabic, and other languages of Central and South America and Africa are spoken at home as well.

(2) Non-English speakers are broadly but unevenly dispersed throughout the United States. The Spanish-speaking population, for example, is represented in every state but is concentrated in California, Texas, Florida, and New York. Likewise, speakers of French are widespread but live in greater numbers in historically French areas in Louisiana and the northeastern U.S. as well as in California and Florida. German speakers are relatively evenly distributed among the northeastern, north central, east and west coast states and Texas. The largest of the Asian-language communities—including speakers of Chinese, Tagalog, Korean, Vietnamese, Japanese, and Mon Khmer (Cambodian)—are located in California. Speakers of Native North American languages are concentrated in Arizona and New Mexico (Bureau of the Census, 1997, Table 4; *Numbers and Needs,* March 1993, Vol. 3, no. 2. Data from the 1990 Census of Population and Housing.).

In 1990, six states had more than one million home speakers of non-English languages, together representing 68 percent of the total number of home speakers of languages other than English. These states tended to be, but were not always, those with the highest total populations (see Table 2 and Figure 1). California, New York, and Texas are the most populous states and also those with the largest populations of speakers of languages other

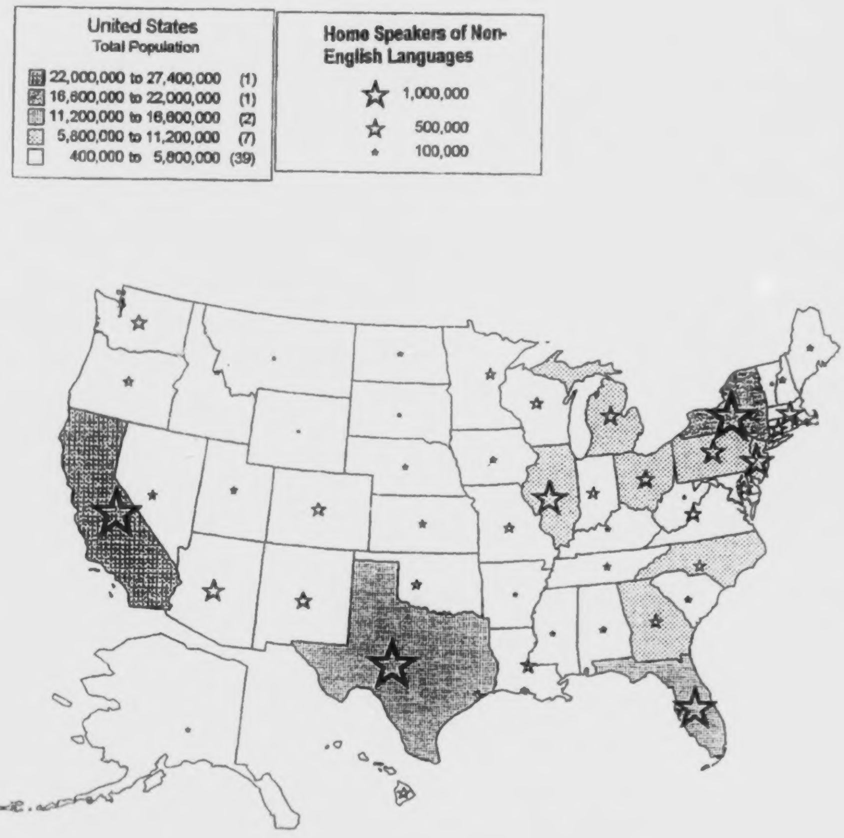
United States
Total Population
22,000,000 to 27,400,000 (1)
16,600,000 to 22,000,000 (1)
11,200,000 to 16,600,000 (2)
5,800,000 to 11,200,000 (7)
400,000 to 5,800,000 (39)
Home Speakers of Non-English Languages
1,000,000
500,000
100,000

Figure 1. U.S. states with the highest total populations and highest populations of home speakers of non-English languages: 1990.

than English. Since state population determines representation in Congress, a large number of non-English speakers in a given state could become political leverage on a national level. Other relatively populous states, which also have significant representation in Congress, such as North Carolina and Georgia, have only 4 percent and 5 percent home speakers of non-English languages respectively. On the state level, the presence of a relatively large concentration of multilingual speakers tends to stimulate political debate on language issues, as in New Mexico, with 36 percent, the highest percentage of any state. It is also true that English-only resolutions have been passed in states with low percentages of non-English speakers, such as Nebraska and Wyoming. States with the lowest overall percentages of speakers of languages other than English were located in the southern U.S.—for example, Kentucky and West Virginia, each with 2 - 3 per-

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cent.

(3) The number of home speakers of non-English languages increased by 38 percent (8.8 million) from 1980-1990. As can be concluded from Table 3, the home use of selected Asian languages—Vietnamese, Korean, and Chinese—each increased more than 100 percent, and the home use of Spanish increased by 56 percent. Of the Indo-European languages, home use of Portuguese and French increased while that of other European languages—such as Hungarian, Italian, and Polish—decreased.

According to Waggoner, approximately two thirds of the increase in home speakers of languages other than English can be explained by increased immigration (*Numbers and Needs*, November 1993, Vol. 3, no. 6). As might be expected, foreign-born populations are more likely to use non-English languages at home: 79 percent (15.4 million) of all foreign-born U.S. residents did so in 1990. Immigration to the U.S. has been increasing since 1970, up 40 percent between 1980-1990 (*Numbers and Needs*, July 1992, Vol. 2, no. 4. Data from the 1990 Census of Population and Housing.). As shown in Table 4, both the Spanish-speaking and Asian-speaking foreign-born populations have almost doubled, with a large influx of refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras as well as from Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. The increase in Portuguese can be partially accounted for by the doubling of the number of incoming Brazilians, and the increase in French can be explained in part by a 144 percent increase in the number of Haitians.

From 1990-1996, the total foreign-born population increased by 14 percent, equivalent to 24.6 million or about 9 percent of the total U.S. population. In 1996, one quarter of the total foreign born population (8 million) lived in California (*Numbers and Needs*, July 1997, Vol. 7, no. 4. Data from the March 1996 Current Population Survey). Immigrants are both more likely to be highly educated and more likely to have limited schooling than non-English speakers born in the U.S.. In California, the development of new approaches to language education for a growing refugee population, many of whom lack literacy in their first language, has become a pressing policy issue (Spener, 1994, pp. 4-7).[9]

High fertility rates and language maintenance efforts among speakers of languages other than English who are born in the U.S. account for the remainder of the increase in home speakers of non-English languages. The native-born comprise one half of the total population of speakers of languages other than English. As Waggoner points out, the language needs of non-English speaking groups "will not go away with the absorption of current immigrants" (*Numbers and Needs*, November 1993, Vol. 3, no. 6).

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[9] Statistics on foreign-born populations are summarized from *Numbers and Needs*, March 1992, Vol. 2, no. 4; *Numbers and Needs*, May 1993, Vol. 3, no. 3; and *Numbers and Needs*, November 1993, Vol. 3, no. 6. Data from the 1990 Census of Population and Housing.

(4) We could say that 25.2 million or 79 percent of home speakers of languages other than English are bilingual if we define bilingualism as those who speak English well or very well and who also speak a language other than English at home (Macías, 1994, p. 17). This large group, containing within it a smaller but undetermined number of balanced bilinguals, does not include those who speak English at home and also use another language at home or at work. See Table 5.

Of home speakers of non-English languages who are not considered bilingual, an estimated 1.8 million do not speak any English at all, and the majority of them (1.5 million) are Spanish speakers. Speakers of Chinese languages were the next largest group, with 111,800 (see Table 6). The number of *non-English speakers* has increased by 51 percent from 1980-90.

It should be noted that an estimated four out of five people in the U.S. who speak non-English languages at home rated themselves as speaking English at least *well* or *very well* (*Numbers and Needs*, September 1993, Vol. 3, no. 5. Data from the 1990 Census of Population and Housing.). The term *English-speaking difficulty* is used to define the number of home speakers of non-English languages who speak English less than *very well*.[10] In 1990, there were 13.9 million, or 44 percent of the total home speakers of languages other than English, who fit into this category. The foreign born, especially the recently immigrated, comprise approximately two thirds of this group. The largest foreign-born group—approximately 7 million—is of Mexican nativity; this is also the group with the largest number of people who have English speaking difficulty. More than 70 percent of immigrants from Laos, Cambodia, as well as El Salvador, the Dominican Republic and Guatemala have English speaking difficulty.

The English ability rating is assigned a value that enables us to describe the degree of difficulty, known as the *index of relative English speaking ability*, or IRESA. The average IRESA of all home speakers of non-English languages was 4.587 out of 6, or slightly higher than *well*.[11] According to IRESA scores, speakers of Hmong and Mon-Khmer (Cambodian) have the most difficulty with English. Average IRESAs of speakers of Chinese languages, Korean, Vietnamese, Thai and Laotian, Russian and Armenian languages indicate that speakers in all of these groups have more difficulty with English than Spanish speakers (*Numbers and Needs*, September 1993, Vol. 3, no. 5. Data from the 1990 Census of Population and Housing.).[12]

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[10] Those who responded *well*, *not well* or *not at all* to the English ability question (15c) are included in the group who have English-speaking difficulty (*Numbers and Needs*, November 1993, Vol. 3, no. 6).

[11] The index of relative English speaking ability (IRESA), assigns graduated values in response to the question asked of non-English speakers only, "How well does this person speak English?" Zero is assigned for *not at all*, 2 for *not well*, 4 for *well*, and 6 for *very well*.

(5) A body of work by authors too numerous to mention exists on language maintenance and shift in the U.S.[13] Statistical analyses of U.S. language shift and maintenance have been carried out by Lopez (1982), Veltman (1983) and others based on the 1976 Survey of Income and Education (SIE). Unlike the 1980-1990 Census, the SIE collected data on both mother tongue and current language use, from which Lopez developed rates of mother tongue maintenance and Veltman calculated Anglicization rates (Veltman, 1983, pp. 11-37). The authors agree that Navajo, the largest of the native North American Indian language groups, seems to be intergenerationally stable, and Spanish speakers in general appear more language retentive than other language groups (Lopez, 1982, p. viii; Veltman, 1983, p. 90).

Based on the language questions in the 1980-1990 Census, we cannot estimate rates of language maintenance directly, but it is useful to note some general trends in inter- and intragroup comparisons. As stated previously, in 1990, native-born home speakers of languages other than English comprised one half of the total non-English speaking population (16.4 million); the other half was about evenly divided between pre-1980 immigrants (8 million) and 1980-1990 immigrants (7.4 million). Table 7 shows that the percentage of people with English-speaking difficulty appears to decrease with length of stay in the U.S..

Another source of information about language maintenance is the pattern of age distribution of non-English language groups, though immigration and fertility patterns also influence these distributions. Table 8 shows, by age group, the estimated numbers of English and non-English language speakers who live in households where non-English languages are spoken.[14] Comparing the language groups, we see that those which lack substantial new immigrating populations, such as Norwegian and Polish speakers, tend to be dominated by non-English speaking adults (aged 18 and older), while most Norwegian and Polish school-age children (aged 5-17) are more likely to speak English at home. In contrast, the Vietnamese language group has 372,000 (90 percent) non-English speaking adults as well as a greater percentage of children (135,000 or 85 percent) who speak Vietnamese at home. The Spanish language group follows the latter pattern, with 13.2 million (80 percent) non-English speaking adults and a majority (4.2 million or 70 percent) of children who speak Spanish at home. Home language use varies according to state, with the 75 to 87 percent of Spanish youth retaining their native language in areas of Spanish concentration—California, Texas, New York and Florida—while in Colorado, Indiana, Utah, and Oklahoma, only 31 to 40 percent of the youth retain Spanish.[15] The strength and nature of language retention also varies among the Spanish subgroups, related to length of stay in the U.S., geographical concentration, proximity to Spanish-speaking countries, status and other demographic and social factors (Bean & Tienda, 1987, pp. 43-44).

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[12] It is important to recognize relative English speaking ability does not necessarily represent any individual speaker's experience of linguistic distance. Size and recency of immigration also contribute to lower IRESA scores for a given group, i.e. groups with higher numbers of more recent immigrants tend to, but do not always, have fewer speakers who would rate themselves higher than speaking *well*.

[13] See Haugen (1978) for an overview of early analyses of language contact. See also Fishman et al. (1985) and Fishman et al. (1966/1978). For studies of code switching, bilingualism, and diglossia, see Gumperz (1972); McLaughlin (1989); Valdes (1982); Zentella (1997) and many others. Conklin & Lourie (1983, pp. 174-75) provide a useful table of factors encouraging language retention and language loss.

[14] This table depicts language minority speakers, a broader category than home speakers of non-English languages. Language minority speakers include those who speak English in households where other household members speak a non-English language.

Language Policy in the United States

The United States has no explicit language policy. Early national leaders recognized that decisions on language choice would, and should, be made at local and regional levels by citizens responding to communicative needs and goals they themselves identify; consequently, the Constitution contains no reference to a choice of a national or preferred language (Heath, 1977a, 1977b).

Since the Constitution's ratification in 1790, only a few federal statutes have been enacted concerning language.[16] At the turn of the 20th century, English language and literacy requirements for becoming a naturalized citizen were passed in reaction to the ethnic (eastern and southern European) and cultural/religious (Catholic and Jewish) makeup of many immigrants.[17] In the late 1960s, the Bilingual Education Act (to be discussed) was enacted as an extension of the civil rights movement and America's war on poverty, and it provided federal support for bilingual instruction in public schools.

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[15] Percentages of youth who retain Spanish are derived by dividing the total number of non-English-speaking Hispanic youth, aged 14-19, by the total number of Spanish-background youth who live in linguistic minority households (*Numbers and Needs,* March, 1994, Vol. 4, no. 2, Table 1. Data are from the 1990 U.S. Census 5 % Public Use Microdata Sample.).

[16] One piece of Federal legislation that was not directed at non-English language speakers but that indirectly impacted language use was the Voting Rights Act of 1965 outlawing literacy tests for voting. When slavery was outlawed by the Thirteenth Amendment and the right to vote was guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment, many states had used various means to prevent African Americans from voting. One of these was the literacy test.

[17] In 1906, language qualifications were added to the conditions for becoming a citizen, and the language qualification continued to be more stringently revised during the first half of this century. Specifically, the *Naturalization Act of 1906* was enacted requiring immigrants to have knowledge of English to be granted citizenship (Curran, 1975, p. 127). In 1917 the requirement that naturalized citizens be literate in one language was added. The *Internal Security Act of 1950* required that naturalized citizens be able to read, write and speak English, prompted at least partially by fear of the spread of Communism (Briggs, 1996, p. 39).

Most of the explicit language policies that do exist are at the state and local level. These, however, must conform to the U.S. Constitution and other federal laws and regulations as interpreted by the courts. When state and local laws concerning language use are in question, they are often considered against the Fourteenth Amendment, which essentially requires state and local governments to abide by the U.S. Constitution and guarantees and protects individuals' constitutional rights and freedoms.

There have been numerous cases in which the courts have struck down legislation enacted by states and local governments to regulate language use or favor one language over others. In the 1890s, for example, the state legislatures of Illinois and Wisconsin passed laws banning teaching of non-English languages until the eighth grade. These were struck down by state courts (Schiffman, 1996, p. 233). The U.S. Supreme Court struck down laws in Iowa, Nebraska and Ohio that prohibited the in-school teaching of any subject in a foreign language or the teaching of any modern foreign language to children who had not yet completed the eighth grade (Schiffman, 1996, p. 237). Recently (April 28, 1998), the Arizona Supreme Court struck down an *English Only* amendment to the state constitution that would have required state and local governments to conduct business only in English, on the grounds that Arizona's *English Only Amendment* violated the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution.[18]

When it comes to language in privately owned workplaces, however, the courts have been willing to consider language restrictions. For example, in *Dimaranan v. Pomona Valley Hospital* (1991), the nurse supervisor requested that Tagalog not be spoken due to dissension between Filipina and non-Filipina nurses. The determination was that the rule was a justified management response to employee conflict (McKay, 1997, p. 252).[19]

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[18] In presenting the court's decision, Justice James Moeller stated, "We hold that the amendment violates the First Amendment to the United States Constitution because it adversely impacts the constitutional rights of non-English-speaking persons with regard to their obtaining access to their government and limits the political speech of elected officials and public employees. We also hold that the amendment violates the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution because it unduly burdens core First Amendment rights of a special class without materially advancing a legitimate state interest" ("Excerpts of Court's Opinion," 1998).

[19] The following are two more examples of cases in which the court found that language restrictions in the workplace did not violate the plaintiff's (claimant) civil rights. In *Jurado v. Eleven-Fifty Corp* (1987), the court concluded that the English Only rule limited to on-air time

Present Trends in Language Policy

Though English has become the dominant language in the United States without benefit of (or need for) an explicit language policy, there has recently been a trend towards officializing English. Over the last two decades, a number of states have enacted *English Only* laws or have such legislation pending. Twenty states have adopted various forms of English Only legislation, and English Only bills are pending in fourteen states (Crawford, 1998a). None of the state laws officializing English—or in the case of Hawaii, English and Hawaiian—has been contested before the U.S. Supreme Court.[20]

Since the mid-1980s there has been an increasing backlash against immigration, especially illegal immigration. Voters in California enacted laws restricting social services to illegal immigrants in 1994 (Proposition 187) and recently (June 1998) passed legislation intended to eliminate bilingual education in the states' public schools (Proposition 227). Historically, there has often been a nativistic response when English speaking members of a community become anxious about a large non-English language presence. As discussed earlier, non-English speakers make up a significant proportion of the population in several states. It might be expected, then, that states with large non-English speaking populations might officialize English. However, of the twenty states that have adopted English Only laws, only four have sizable non-English speaking populations: Arizona, California, Colorado and Florida. It is notable that Texas and New York have not officialized English, given that 25 percent of the total population of Texas and just over 23 percent of the total New York population are home speakers of languages other than English. New York has a reputation for cultural and linguistic tolerance, which may explain its lack of such legislation; however, there is popular support in New York for an English Only law.

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was related to the radio station's programming decisions and therefore did not violate the Title VII Equal Employment Opportunity Act, which makes it unlawful for an employer to discriminate on the basis of race or national origin. In *Garcia v. Spun Steak Co.* (1993), the company, after permitting workers to speak Spanish for more than thirty years, imposed a policy requiring workers to speak only English. The court rejected the plaintiffs' claims of being adversely affected, maintaining that the policy was only an inconvenience on bilingual employees.

[20] The Arizona English Only constitutional amendment was contested by a state employee on the grounds that it infringed upon her right to speak Spanish with Spanish-speaking customers. A federal judge ruled the amendment unconstitutional, and the decision was upheld by a federal court of appeals. The State of Arizona appealed the latter decision to the Supreme Court, but the Court sent the issue back to the state courts on a technicality: The plaintiff no longer worked for the state when the case reached the Supreme Court. Based on the Arizona Supreme Court decision, we may see challenges to English Only legislation in other states ("English-only debate," 1996). See Appendix A for more information about state and federal court jurisdiction in language-related cases.

What distinguishes Texas from the other states with significant non-English speaking populations is that Arizona, California, Colorado, and Florida allow laws to be enacted by means of referendum. In these states, proponents of English Only introduced legislation into the state assemblies to make English the official state language. In Arizona, California, and Florida, there was not enough support in the state assemblies, so the bills died. In Colorado, where there was sufficient support within the state assembly, the threat of a veto by the governor killed the legislation. After first failing to get an English Only law passed, proponents in these four states bypassed the legislative process and got an English Only measure on the ballot by collecting a number of signatures on a petition as determined by law. In all four cases, the ballot measure passed. Similarly, in Texas there had been popular support for an English Only amendment, but there was little support in the state legislature for such a measure. Texas, however, has no referendum system; consequetnly, an English Only amendment was not put to the voters (Tatalovich, 1995, p. 164).[21]

Not all measures at the state level have been to officialize English. Some states have taken steps to recognize the linguistic and cultural diversity of their residents. The State of Hawaii, as mentioned previously, has made both English and Hawaiian official languages. Four States (New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island and Washington) have passed English Plus resolutions. *English Plus* advocates the acquisition of English by all residents as well as the development and preservation of language resources in other languages. Oregon's English Plus Resolution, for example, states that

> The use of diverse languages in business, government and private affairs, and the presence of diverse cultures is welcomed, encouraged and protected in Oregon. (Oregon English Plus Resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 16, 1989)

At the national level, a number of bills making English the official language of the United States have been introduced in Congress since the early 1980s. The first such bill was introduced as a constitutional amendment in 1981, by S.I. Hiyakawa, senator from California. If it had been approved, this amendment would have banned virtually all uses of languages other than English by federal, state and local governments. In 1991, "Language of Government" legislation, a statutory form of Official English, was introduced which would have applied to the federal government alone if it had passed. In the most recent session of Congress (105th Congress), several bills were introduced making English the official language of the country and restricting the use of other languages for government business.

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[21] See Appendix A for additional information about the referendum system.

The current political environment is highly partisan, with the party controlling Congress generally in favor of making English the official language of the nation and possibly passing English Only legislation, while the President and his party are generally opposed to such legislation. In this atmosphere we can expect to see language as an issue in many of the upcoming political campaigns. Ultimately, any such legislation will be challenged in the courts with the final outcome in the hands of the judicial branch of the government.

In summation, language policy in the United States can be viewed as the outcome of local measures regarding the use of language in the public sphere tempered or moderated by judicial oversight, ultimately guided by the U.S. Constitution and Amendments to the Constitution with particular focus on the Fourteenth Amendment *due process* clause. There is currently a trend toward officializing English at the state and national level, but with the state Supreme Court overturning Arizona's law, the constitutionality of such laws may be in doubt. The issue of language use and language rights has come to be seen as "wedge issue" that may place a strain on traditional political alliances and that will most likely be in the forefront of upcoming political campaigns.[22]

Language Policy and Education

In no other area does language policy formation and implementation come closer to the average American than it does in the choice of languages to be taught and in the selection of the language of instruction in schools. Given the close association of language with identity (personal, cultural and national), the topic of language in schools has often been emotive and controversial, with pendulum swings of concern and support.

Historically, in localities where immigrant groups had influence, bilingual education was likely to be accepted, while it was likely to be rejected where immigrants had little influence. By the mid-1800s, public and church-sponsored German-English schools were operating in numerous cities, especially in the Midwest. Ohio passed a law authorizing instruction in English and German in 1839. Elsewhere, laws were passed authorizing instruction in languages other than English: French in Louisiana, Spanish in New Mexico, and unspecified languages in nine other states (Crawford 1991, p. 20).

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[22] An example of this can be seen in California. The state Democratic Party opposed the recently passed Proposition 227 to eliminate bilingual education in California public schools while the state Republican Party, led by the governor, supported the measure. Traditionally, working class voters in California have been aligned with the Democratic Party, but as they have tended to perceive immigrants as a threat, they generally voted for the Republican-backed proposition. In this case, Republicans saw language as a wedge issue that would pull traditionally Democratic constituents away from their usual party allegiance.

At the end of the nineteenth century, there was a backlash against the waves of immigrants then arriving who were ethnically and culturally different from the general populace and previous immigrants. Laws were passed in several states making it illegal to teach a language other than English or use English as a medium of instruction in the first eight years of school. Public concern was not over which language best enabled children to learn math and other subjects; rather, the central issue was assimilation (Crawford, 1991, p. 21). During World War I, anti-German sentiments peaked, and several states passed laws and decrees "banning German speech in the classrooms, on the street, in church, in pubic meetings and even on the telephone" (Crawford, 1991, p. 23). Following World War I, speaking languages other than English came to be associated with disloyalty to the United States, and 34 states adopted laws banning instruction in languages other than English, and in some cases, foreign language teaching in the early grades. By 1930, people were less concerned about maintaining linguistic and cultural traditions and less accepting of teaching and learning in languages other than English. As a result, bilingual education largely disappeared (Schiffman, 1996, p. 233; Crawford, 1991, p. 24).

Certain groups have historically experienced repression of their native languages and literacies. For example, at the beginning of the 1800s, the Cherokee developed a syllabary and established a 21-school education system. By the 1850s, bilingual education enabled the Cherokee to achieve 90 percent literacy in their native language and a higher level of English literacy than native English speaking populations in the neighboring states of Arkansas and Texas (Crawford, 1991, p. 25; Wiley, 1996, pp. 20-22). However, in 1879, the U.S. government began forcing indigenous children to attend "off-reservation boarding schools," where they were punished for using their native language. The government policy of repressing indigenous languages was rescinded in 1934, but unofficial punishment for native language use continued in reservation schools into the 1950s (Crawford, 1991, pp. 25-26). The Mexican Americans of the Southwest experienced language repression similar to that of Native Americans. For example, in Texas children served detention after school for speaking Spanish into the 1960s, and teaching in a language other than English remained a crime in Texas until 1969 (Crawford, 1991, p. 26). A consequence of educational repression has been underachievement for the groups involved (Wiley, 1996, pp. 45-46).

In 1958, Sputnik was launched, causing great concern that the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union in the arms race. The result was passage of the National Defense Education Act, which placed an emphasis on foreign language education and area studies, in addition to loans to college students, improvement in math and science education in elementary and secondary schools, graduate fellowships, and vocational-technical training. ESL instruction began to be provided to language minority students, mostly in the form of pull-out classes.[23] The emphasis was on replacing the child's native language with English, which resulted in producing children neither literate in English nor the child's native language (Crawford, 1991, p. 27).

In the 1960s, there was a surge of concern for the rights of under-represented groups and an increased interest in ethnicity and language. Accompanying the Civil Rights movement and the War on Poverty in the 1960s was a growing awareness of the needs of Americans living in poverty whose native language was not English. Also, with the revolution in Cuba in 1959, there was a wave of Cuban immigration to the U.S., especially Florida. Whereas previous immigrants tended to be poor and many attempted to quickly assimilate as "Americans," many of these Cuban refuges were middle and upper-middle class and had a more positive attitude toward maintaining their native language and culture. By the late 1960s, "there was a new attitude about second languages, and the stage was set for some different approaches" (Schiffman, 1996, p. 240). In 1968, the Bilingual Education Act was enacted.

Attitudes that have emerged in U.S. history towards language and languages can be framed in terms of Ruíz's (1984) "orientations in language planning." *Language-as-problem* focuses on the social liabilities of non-majority languages. *Language-as-right* emphasizes the question of social equality for members of groups for whom English is not the native language. *Language-as-resource* stresses the value of developing language skills. The reaction to the languages of immigrants at the turn of the century and to speakers of non-English languages—especially German speakers—during and after W.W.I, can be viewed as reflective of a language-as-problem orientation. The response by those who wished to maintain their language and culture during the 1960s might be viewed as a language-as-right orientation. The interest in non-English languages in response to the launching of Sputnik might be viewed as a language-as-resource orientation. It must be noted, however, that this particular expression of a language-as-resource orientation was toward English speakers learning other languages rather than seeing the language of non-English speakers as a resource.

Recently, the development of bilingual education policy has proceeded along two parallel tracks: civil rights enforcement by the executive branch and federal financial and programmatic assistance by Congress through the Bilingual Education Act to schools serving language minority students

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[23] In pull-out programs, language minority students, individually or in groups, are taken out of some mainstream courses for ESL instruction. See discussion under *Teacher Training and Supply* in Part 2.

(Lyons, 1990, p. 70). The following is an account of how the two tracks have led to the current bilingual education policy in the United States.

Bilingual Education and Civil Rights

Civil Rights enforcement of language related rights grew out of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in federally assisted programs and activities. In 1968, the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued general guidelines holding school systems responsible for assuring that students of a particular race, color, or national origin are not denied the opportunity to obtain the education generally obtained by other students in the system (Lyons, 1990, p. 70; Crawford, 1998c, para. 6).[24]

In *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) the San Francisco School District was successfully sued in the U.S. Supreme Court for failing to provide non-English speaking children with *equal* education. In addition, the Lau decision fueled the issue of native language use in education and prompted California and several other states to enact bilingual education statutes. In 1975, in response to the Lau decision, the Office for Civil Rights in the federal Office of Education[25] issued what have been referred to as the *Lau Remedies*, requiring that bilingual education of some form be provided at the elementary school level in cases where injustice was found. In lieu of bilingual instruction, ESL was deemed acceptable at the middle school level. Although these remedies did not have the status of federal regulations, they were effectively used as such in disputes in school districts. For the first time, large numbers of school districts were induced to pay attention to the language needs of limited English proficient students and to serve them through bilingual education (Crawford, 1996; 1998b, paras. 25-31).

It should be noted that, within the realm of civil rights, language rights in the United States exist only as a component of other rights. Significantly, these rights are endowed to individuals and not groups (Crawford, 1998b, para. 46; Schiffman, 1996, p. 237).

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[24] In 1970 the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued information on responsibilities of school districts whose national-origin minority-group enrollments exceeded 5 percent and noted a number of common educational practices which had the effect of denying equality of educational opportunity to Spanish-surnamed pupils. Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it warned "sink or swim" was no longer permissible. Public schools would have to take "affirmative steps" to help students overcome language barriers (Lyons, 1990, p. 70).

[25] The current Department of Education was established in 1980 as a Cabinet-level agency on a par with the Departments of State and Defense. Previously, it was part of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Bilingual Education Act

In its original form, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, commonly known as the *Bilingual Education Act* (BEA), provided grants for the training of teachers and aides to work with students with limited English skills. It also provided for the development of materials and activities to involve parents in the schools. Initially, it was limited to children from poor backgrounds and did not prescribe use of the native language or culture in instruction. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 was introduced as an antipoverty program to serve Hispanic Americans, whose needs had thus far received little attention from Great Society programs[26] (Crawford, 1998b, para. 15). It was conceived of as an experiment not in language policy but in education policy, designed to tackle a problem of underachievement in which language happened to play a role.

As policy, the Bilingual Education Act left many issues unresolved, especially with regard to goals. Various parties had their own interpretations. The Federal Office of Education held the goal of bilingual education to be to produce a student who could function well in two languages in a variety of situations. In contrast, the stated goal of the congressional committee members who wrote the final version of the act was to overcome students' "bilingual problem." Educators, for their part, saw the two goals as compatible (Crawford, 1998b, paras. 16-18).

The Bilingual Education Act required that funds and their uses be reauthorized on a regular basis. Through its five reauthorizations, the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) has grown in scope and size. The first two authorizations, in 1974 and 1978, resulted in an increase in the types of educational activities covered by the act, the removal of the economic qualification, and the provision for instruction in children's native language under specific circumstances. The reauthorizations created five programs eligible for funding: Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE), Developmental Bilingual Education (DBE), Special Alternative [English-only] Instructional Programs (SAIP), Family English Literacy Programs (FELP) and Special Populations Programs (SPP). The number of types of students to be included in these programs also increased (Lyons, 1990). The most recent reauthorization, 1994, created education grants for schools and districts to establish bilingual education programs, training grants for bilingual education teachers, administrators and school employees, and graduate fellowships for studies in teacher training, administration and research (Elementary & Secondary Education Provisions, 1994). The five BEA program types introduced above will be described in greater detail in Part 2 of this report.

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[26] The Great Society was a collection of social programs intended to break the cycle of poverty then affecting 35 million Americans. Great Society programs included Medicare, the Head Start education program, federal aid to education, and the Job Corps.

Current Policies and Programs

The Bilingual Education Act currently includes three different types of grants. *Instructional Services* grants provide direct assistance to school districts to implement comprehensive instructional programs for limited English proficient students and to integrate these programs within the overall school program. *Support Services* grants go to state educational agencies to provide assistance to school districts seeking to improve the quality of instruction for limited English proficient students. They also provide for a National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE), and fund Academic Excellence dissemination grants and grants for research. *Professional Development* grants provide funding to colleges and universities to train instructional staff for bilingual programs.

Presently, the Bilingual Education Act is under attack at all levels. Following the success of the proposition abolishing bilingual education in California (June 1998), a bill has been introduced in Congress to eliminate the Bilingual Education Act, though it does not yet seem to have enough support to pass. Other proposals would make grants to states in the form of generally unspecified block grants that states may use as they determine, thus eliminating earmarking the money for bilingual education.

In summation, there has been a carrot-and-stick approach to bilingual education policy in the United States over the past thirty years. Congress enacted the Bilingual Education Act, a "carrot," that provides money for schools and school districts to develop and maintain bilingual education, train teachers and support other programs focused on bilingual education. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and subsequent rulings related to it have been used as a "stick" to assure that schools, school districts and those involved in educating limited English proficient children guarantee and protect their rights and assure their equal opportunities to an education. Current enforcement of the Civil Rights Act requires that school districts give language minority students full access to the learning environment, the curriculum, special services and assessment in a meaningful way. To assist districts to comply, Congress has authorized the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) to provide financial resources, training, information and guidance.

PART TWO

LANGUAGE EDUCATION OF U.S. LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS

In Part 2, we will discuss the educational characteristics of language minority speakers, focusing on a subset of that group, those designated limited English proficient (LEP) students in U.S. government terminology. We will also survey the characteristics of English as a Second Language (ESL) and bilingual programs that serve language minority populations and illustrate typical U.S. bilingual classroom processes.

A number of areas essential to understanding ESL and bilingual education in the U.S. are not covered in this section. See August and Hakuta (1997) for a recent review of U.S. research in second language acquisition, discourse patterns in classrooms, cognitive processes in first-language content learning, program evaluation and effective schooling.

Language Minority Populations

Recall that in Part 1 we discussed home speakers of non-English languages, while in this part we will discuss a broader category, *language minority speakers*. Definitions of language minority vary slightly.[27] The definition used here is that of the source we consulted for 1980-1990 U.S. Census figures: "People in families or households in which one or more people speak a non-English language" (*Numbers and Needs*, March 1993, Vol. 3, no. 2).[28] Language minority estimates include more people with potential language education needs than do estimates of the number of home speakers of non-English languages. Language minority speakers may have limited English proficiency, they may be bilingual, or they may be essentially monolingual speakers of English who lack the necessary reading or writing skills to succeed in all English-speaking environments (August & Hakuta, 1997, p. 16). The purpose of looking at language minority populations is to provide a benchmark for overall conditions and for the potential need for language services.

The language minority population increased by 36 percent from 1980-

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[27] For example, the U.S. Department of Education (1987) defined language minority children as "those who came from a household in which the household head and one other person spoke a non-English language" (Hopstock & Bucaro, 1993, sect. 3B, para. 7). Another definition is those who live in households where a non-English language is dominant.

[28] Language minority estimates were developed from the 5 % public use microdata sample (PUMS) based on responses to the U.S. Census long form, which included language and school attendance questions (*Numbers and Needs*, July 1994, Vol. 4, no. 4). See Part 1, Footnote 7, for more information on census data.

1990, so that in 1990, one person in five was a member of a language minority group (*Numbers and Needs*, September 1995, Vol. 5, no. 5. Data from 1990 Census of Population.). Of these, approximately ten million language minority speakers were school age (5-17). Recall Table 8, introduced in Part 1, which shows the distribution of home language speakers among selected language groups. The young people of recently immigrated groups— for example, Hmong, Mon-Khmer, and Vietnamese—are much more likely to speak their native languages at home than are long-established groups who speak such languages as French or German. While the young people in recently immigrated groups will be more likely to need special language services, advocates also argue that the English speakers in language minority homes, for example the 1.8 million English-speaking young people in Spanish-speaking homes, and the 52,000 English-speaking youth in Chinese households, should also be considered in potential need of academic language support.

Non-English speakers who speak English less than *very well* are less likely to be enrolled in elementary or high school, and they are more likely to have lower levels of educational attainment as adults. Table 9 shows the school enrollment and educational attainment rates of three groups—monolingual English speakers, non-English speakers who rated themselves as speaking English *very well*, and those who rated themselves as speaking English less than very well.[29] By high-school (ages 15-17), those with English difficulty are less likely to be enrolled and by college (ages 18-19) much less likely to be enrolled than either monolingual English speakers or bilinguals. Educational attainment among adult speakers with English difficulty reflects similar trends, with approximately 18 percent of those with English speaking difficulty having fewer than five years of education compared with under 2 percent of monolingual English speakers and approximately 3 percent of bilingual speakers. High school graduation rates show a similar gap: 43 percent of those with English difficulty have graduated from high school compared with 72 and 78 percent of bilingual and monolingual speakers respectively (*Numbers and Needs*, July 1995, Vol. 5, no. 4).

Speakers with English difficulty are somewhat more likely to be unemployed, and when they are employed, they are more likely to occupy service or blue-collar positions as shown in Table 10. In 1990, approximately 68 percent of those with English difficulty had occupations in service, farming, industry, and labor (job categories 3 - 6 in Table 10) compared with 39 and 40 percent of bilingual and monolingual English speakers, the majority of whom were engaged in managerial, professional, technical and administrative positions (categories 1 - 2).

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[29] Note that a slightly different definition of bilingual is used in this table than is used in Table 5. In this discussion and in Table 9 that accompanies it, bilinguals are defined as those who speak a non-English language and report that they speak English *very well* (*Numbers and Needs*, July 1995, Vol. 5, no. 4); in Table 5, those who speak a non-English language in addition to speaking English *well* were also included in the bilingual category.

Graduation rates vary by language background and by gender. As Waggoner summarizes it, "Non-English speaking people in the U.S. are much less well educated than their native-born and foreign-born counterparts in the general population, but their educational attainment varies considerably according to their place of birth, their home language, and their gender" (*Numbers and Needs*, July 1996, Vol. 6, no. 4). Table 11 shows differences in high school graduation rates among groups of non-English speaking people. A total of 15 percent have graduated, and of that group, 19 percent were native-born and approximately 14 percent were foreign-born. Rates of graduation among the Mon-Khmer, Portuguese, and Spanish-speaking groups were relatively low as compared with Korean, Polish, and Russian speakers. Asian-Indian-speaking males are about twice as likely to be high school graduates as Asian-Indian-speaking females while Spanish-speaking males and females graduate at approximately the same rate. Table 12 shows a complementary trend among adults with limited schooling. More foreign-born than native-born non-English speakers and slightly more non-English speaking women than men have limited schooling. Limited schooling for adult men and women ranges from 12 percent of Polish-speakers to 79 percent of Mon-Khmer speakers with less than 5 years of formal school.

In summation, these figures seem to suggest a relationship between ability to speak English and educational and economic opportunity. They could be seen as support for the promotion of the rapid acquisition of English for the purposes of employment. However, a number of social, cultural, ethnic and economic factors need to be considered in addition to English-speaking ability. Some of these include language and cultural distance in relation to U.S. society, social discrimination, geographical concentration, poverty, educational opportunities in native countries, resettlement and war experiences. All of these have a potential influence on educational attainment and employment. There is also a need to look at the role of limited economic opportunity structures available to non-English speakers and members of particular ethnic groups (Spener, 1988). It is possible that the U.S. economy structure requires an underclass, and the increasing standards for English language and literacy demanded by recent language education reforms actually function to maintain a pool of non-English speakers, particularly immigrant adults, to perform unwanted and low paying jobs (Spener, 1988, pp. 137-140).

The educational achievement of language minority populations is difficult to describe for several reasons. Until very recently, language minorities have been frequently excluded from national surveys such as the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 and the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) because their English was often seen as insufficient to participate (*Numbers and Needs*, September 1992, Vol. 2, no. 5; August & Hakuta, 1997, pp. 275-304). Another reason that the educational achievement of language minority students is difficult to quantify is that smaller-scale surveys sometimes focus on multilingual speakers but do not aggregate achievement data by level of English proficiency. One recent example was the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), which found that the dropout rate for immigrants and children of immigrants was significantly lower than district-wide averages in the two urban areas sampled. It was also found that children of immigrants as a group outperformed the district norms, though large differences occurred in all outcomes by national origin (Rumbaut, 1998, pp. 17-21). CILS documents the rapid shift to English among the immigrants sampled and reports that students who had been classified as Limited English Proficient by schools (see discussion in the following section) remained associated with lower academic achievement and higher dropout rates than non-native students with English fluency (Rumbaut, 1998, p. 23).[30] Beyond these observations, however, the author uses ethno-national origin to aggregate data on GPA, educational and occupational aspirations, and other sociocultural and psychological characteristics. Thus, from this otherwise very informative work, we cannot learn about the relationship of language proficiency (in English or non-English languages) to the predictors of achievement he examines. Ethnicity and/or nationality are sometimes assumed to be a surrogate measure for language, obscuring the language-related educational issues (Macías, 1994, p. 35). For example, in the analysis of the results of the U.S. IEA Reading Literacy Study (Binkley & Williams, 1996), ethnicity—but not language differences or proficiency levels—was reported on.

Turning from national assessments of achievement to the census, we have data about self-reported English proficiency, but we know very little about the non-English language resources of language minority students (Macías, 1994, pp. 35-36; Wiley, 1996, pp. 78-79). Two exceptions to this focus on English proficiency are the 1992 National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS), which oversampled Latinos and provided English and Spanish versions of the questionnaire, and the National Chicano Survey (NCS), which collected self-reported information about literacy in English and Spanish from the Mexican-origin population (Wiley, 1996, pp. 80-92). Results are striking. According to Macías (1988) and Wiley (1990), for example, the NCS shows an overall Chicano literacy rate of 74 percent for the U.S.: 32 percent English literacy dominant, 20 percent English/Spanish biliteracy, and 22 Spanish literacy dominant. If only English literacy were measured, the literacy rate would have been under-reported as 52 percent (cited in Wiley, 1996, pp. 92-93).

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[30] CILS studied the social, cultural and psychological adaptation, over a three-year period, of 5,200 foreign and U.S.-born children of immigrants enrolled in high schools in two large school districts, one in southern California and the other in Florida. Seventy-seven nationalities were represented in the sample: In California, the largest number of students were from Mexico, the Philippines, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, and in Florida, the majority of students were from Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, Colombia, and other Latin American countries.

Pending reform in national data collection and analysis, we are not able to describe educational achievement, attainment, and literacy rates of language minority populations with much assurance. A number of specific reforms have been suggested and are now underway (August & Hakuta, 1997, pp. 275-306; Macías, 1994; Wiley, 1996; Olson & Goldstein, 1996). Somewhat more specific data are available on students identified by schools as limited English proficient, described in the following section.

Educational Characteristics of Students Identified as Limited English Proficient

Until recently, most national educational policy has referred to the *limited English proficient* (LEP) student population. Title VII of Improving America's Schools Act of 1994, following earlier U.S. government precedent, defines an LEP individual as one who has "sufficient difficulty speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language and whose difficulties may deny such individual the opportunity to learn successfully" in English-only classrooms for one or all of the following reasons: the individual was born outside the U.S., comes from a home where a non-English language is dominant, is a native American or Alaska native or from another outlying area, is migratory and whose native language is other than English.[31]

Counts of LEP students are necessary in order to guide federal policymaking, to focus federal training and technical assistance, and to report to the general public concerning LEP populations and their needs (Hopstock & Bucaro, 1993, sect. 7A, para. 2). However, the available statistics often differ significantly from one another. One reason is the use of different methodologies, which can be generally categorized as either school (SEA)-based or census-based.[32] An example of school-based research is the "Summary Report of the Survey of the States' Limited English Proficient Students and Available Educational Programs and Services 1994-1995," from which many figures cited in this paper are drawn. Statistics concerning LEP students' linguistic and geographical distribution, enrollment, English proficiency, educational achievement, and socioeconomic characteristics are briefly discussed in this section, elaborating on the following generalizations:

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[31] See Appendix B.

[32] The terms *school-based* and *census-based* are from Hopstock and Bucaro (1993), a review and analysis of thirteen different LEP student population estimates. School-based methods synthesize LEP student data collected by individuals as well as state and local agencies that are responsible for LEP programming. Discrete counts are summed in order to create a national estimate. Especially important are reports from State Educational Agencies (SEAs). SEAs who receive federal support for LEP programs must reply to an annual Department of Education survey, the results of which are included in the "Summary Report" mentioned above. According to Hopstock and Bucaro (1993), the advantages of school-based methodology in-

(1) Approximately 3.5 million students identified as LEP are enrolled in U.S. schools, and the number has been steadily increasing since the mid-1980s. California and Texas have the largest LEP student populations.

(2) Most LEP students who are enrolled in federally supported special language education programs attend public school. The majority are Spanish-speaking elementary school students.

(3) Some research indicates that LEP students as a group achieve at lower than average levels and are retained a grade more often. However, the data on the educational condition of LEP students are insufficient to draw firm conclusions.

(4) The poverty level of LEP students and their attendance in underfunded schools are two of the most important contextual educational issues.

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clude that it makes use of a more precise definition of LEP; it is grounded in educational contexts; and it is often tied to assessment. The disadvantages are that the definition of LEP and the method of collecting data on LEP students vary among the reporting agencies; biases may influence the counts; and responses are often incomplete (1993, sect. 2B).

Some federally sponsored researchers also use a type of school-based methodology. For example, Fleischman and Hopstock (1993) sampled LEP coordinators at state educational agencies, local school districts, individual schools and teachers, through mail-in surveys supplemented by telephone surveys, and site visits. The researchers weighted their data to be nationally representative.

Census-based methods use the information about language use collected on the Sample component (Long Form) of the decennial census, described in Part 1, footnote 7 of this report. Such research does not examine actual LEP populations but estimates the potential number of LEP students within an age range based on answers to questions about English speaking ability; for example, persons ages 5-17 who live in household where languages other than English are spoken and who speak English less than well may be considered to constitute the LEP population (Hopstock & Bucaro, 1993, sect. 2A, paras. 2-3). Others relate census data to English proficiency survey data by means of an LEP/LM (language minority) percentage (Hopstock & Bucaro, 1993, sect. 3B.3, para. 1). According to Hopstock and Bucaro, census-based methods have the advantage of applying a consistent definition of LEP across groups and of covering all geographic areas and school-age populations. Drawbacks of census-based methods are that they lack a valid measure of English proficiency and they are likely to undercount language minority people who live in urban areas or who are undocumented (1993, sect. 2A).

(1) Estimates of the LEP student population range from 1.355 million to 3.685 million, with a best estimate of 3.5 million[33] according to Hopstock and Bucaro's review and analysis of LEP counts. Based on 1990 census data, 2,388,243 school-age children, ages 5 - 17, had difficulty speaking English[34] (cited in Hopstock & Bucaro, 1993, sect. 3C, para. 2). The SEA summary report for the 1989-90 academic year reported a similar number— 2,154,781 LEP students (Macías, 1998a, Table 1).

The LEP student population is increasing both numerically and as a proportion of the total U.S. student population. The most recent SEA report says that 3,452,073 LEP students were enrolled in 1996-97, representing 7.4 percent of total student enrollment (Macías et al., 1998, para. 1), up from 6.7 percent in 1994-95. The LEP student population has grown by approximately 3 percent annually according to census-based methods (Hopstock & Bucaro, 1993, sect. 4B, para. 2). School-based methods show an average annual increase of between 8 and 9 percent (see Table 13).

Several explanations are offered for the difference between census-based and school-based increases. Undercount and imprecise self-rating may have contributed to the smaller increase reflected in the census-based data (Hopstock & Bucaro, 1993, sect. 4B, para. 4), while more complete reporting and changes in definitions of LEP status may have produced the sharper increases reported by SEAs. Although it is not known precisely how much these factors contribute to the SEA-reported increase, "the consistency of the increase argues for a large proportion resulting from population change" (Macías & Kelly, 1996, sect. 5, para. 1).

Reflecting the trends in census data reported in Part 1, states with the largest overall populations tend to have the largest populations of LEP students (Macías & Kelly, 1996, sect. 2). Table 14 shows total student enrollment and LEP enrollments by type of schooling for the academic year 1994-95, the last year for which we have detailed analysis of SEA reports. Table 15 lists states with the highest percentage of LEP enrollments in 1994-95. These tables show that approximately 54 percent of the total national LEP student enrollment that academic year was in California and Texas and about two thirds of the national total was enrolled in schools in four states. Besides the outlying jurisdictions,[35] states with the highest concentrations of LEP enrollment are New Mexico, Alaska, and California, with 24 percent, 23 percent, and 21 percent respectively.

(2) Just over 90 percent of LEP students (3,132,201) were reported to be enrolled in public schools in 1994-95 (see Table 14). However, many SEAs

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[33] From the Council of Chief State School Officers (1991), cited in Hopstock & Bucaro, 1993, sect. 3D, para. 1.

[34] "Difficulty with English" is defined here as speaking English less than *very well*.

[35] Outlying jurisdictions include American Samoa and Palau, with 97 percent and 82 percent LEP student enrollments respectively. See Table 15.

report that nonpublic school data is not gathered systematically or is voluntarily submitted; in addition, nonpublic schools do not classify students as LEP as frequently as public schools do. Thus, enrollment figures for private schools are probably underenumerated (Macías & Kelly, 1996).

Approximately 73 percent of LEP students being served in special language education programs in 1991 were Spanish speakers according to a survey by Fleischman and Hopstock (1993). Smaller populations of 19 other language groups—including Vietnamese, Hmong, Cantonese, Cambodian, and Korean—were represented (see Table 16), suggesting that a large concentration of a single language group may be related to higher level and diversity of instructional programs. According to the same study, in terms of total population and total numbers of LEP students, there were more LEP students in lower grades, as shown in Table 17.

(3) We lack sufficient school-based data to examine on a national scale the educational achievement of LEP students. According to Macías and Kelly (1996), not enough information was submitted by the SEAs to draw conclusions about grade retention, dropout rates, and academic test performance.[36] The 33 SEAs that did reply to questions about test performance represented approximately 40 percent of the total LEP population in 1994-95. Of that group, 27 percent of LEP students were reported to be below state norms in English reading and 18 percent below state norms in math (1996, sect. 3, para. 7). However, of those agencies that did report on achievement, the degree of consistency of measures across state agencies is unknown as are the standards used in reporting (1996, sect. 3, para. 8). Likewise, Hopstock and Bucaro (1993) report that "national level information on language proficiency levels of LEP students has been inadequate for policy-making purposes" (1993, sect. 8, para. 1).

Other research suggests that LEP students achieve at lower than average levels. Based on two years of a six-year longitudinal study of LEP and language minority students, Moss and Puma reported that the third-grade cohort of LEP students received scores that were significantly lower than average on standardized achievement tests: "In reading, they obtained a mean percentile score of 26, compared to 56 for 3rd graders overall. In math, 3rd grade LEP students obtained a mean percentile score of 31, compared to 55 for all 3rd grade students" (Moss & Puma, 1995, p. *i*-9). They also report that, compared to third-grade students in general, third-grade

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[36] In 1994-95, only 33 of the 53 participating SEAs replied to the question about grade retention, representing approximately 19 percent of the total LEP population. Approximately 2.3 percent of those students (13, 906) had been retained in one or more grades (Macías & Kelly, 1996, sect. 3, para. 4). The 32 SEAs that reported on dropouts represented 21 percent of the total LEP population; 1.5 percent (10,180) had dropped out of school in 1994-95 (Macías & Kelly, 1996, sect. 3, paras. 3-6).

LEP students were about half as likely to receive a grade of *excellent* in reading or math (1995, p. *i*-9). In schools with high concentrations of LEP students, almost 25 percent of third-grade LEP students had repeated a grade, compared to an average third-grade retention rate of 15 percent (Moss & Puma, 1995, p. *i*-10). Similarly, Fleischman and Hopstock found that LEP students in 1991-92 were educationally disadvantaged, especially in higher grades. For example, they found that 27 percent of high school LEP students were assigned to grades two years below norms, compared to 11 percent of all students (1993, p. 6)

(4) The poverty level of LEP students and their attendance in underfunded schools are two of the important contextual issues in language minority education according to August and Hakuta (1997, p. 16). LEP students are more likely to be enrolled in schools located in low-income areas. Macías and Kelly report that in 1994-95, about 47 percent of LEP students were served through Chapter 1/Title I, ESEA programs, which are intended to support students in school districts with high concentrations of low-income children; participation by the LEP population in these programs increased by 16 percent over the previous year (1996, sect. 4, para. 8). Also, Chapter 1, Migrant programs—intended to provide financial assistance to meet educational needs of migratory agricultural workers and fisherman—served another 10 percent of the LEP population (Macías & Kelly, 1996, sect. 4, para. 7).[37]

LEP students enrolled in schools in low-income areas are even more likely to achieve at lower-than-average levels. In the longitudinal study mentioned above, Moss and Puma examined the effects of Chapter 1/Title I on LEP students, focussing on their enrollment in *high-poverty schools*.[38] They found that 43 percent of first-grade and 51 percent of third-grade LEP students attended high-poverty schools compared with 13 percent of all first and third graders (1995, p. 2-1). They also found that third-grade LEP students who were enrolled in high-poverty schools with high concentrations of LEP students scored "lower than students in schools with lower level of poverty and LEP concentration" (1995, p. 3-6). For example, over two years, third-grade LEP students achieved a mean percentile of approximately 15-16 percent in high-poverty schools as compared with a 25-28 mean percentile for schools with moderate (50-74 percent) poverty and a 44-53 mean percentile in schools with relatively less (20-34 percent) poverty (Moss & Puma, 1995, Exhibit 3.2A).

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[37] LEP students' enrollment in federal, state and local language programs including Chapter 1/Title I programs is discussed below in the section *Instructional Programs for Language Minority Students*. See Table 19.

[38] High-poverty schools are defined as "schools where at least 75 percent of students are eligible for free or reduced price lunches under the National School Lunch Program" (Moss & Puma, 1995, p. *i*-3).

ESL and Bilingual Education Programs

Given that language minority student enrollment is increasing, it is not unrealistic to expect that in the near future virtually all school districts will have language minority students in their student populations (LaCelle-Peterson & Rivera, 1994). These school districts will need to provide special services both to meet the needs of these students and to meet federal and state guidelines. This section will examine several aspects of ESL and bilingual education programming, including the identification of LEP students, program structures and goals, training and supply of teachers, and assessment.

Schools are faced with a number of difficulties in meeting language minority students' needs. One problem is the changing composition of the language minority student population. A second problem schools face is the potential variety of educational backgrounds, especially at the secondary level. Lacking adequate information, schools frequently place youth who have recently immigrated in grades by age rather than according to academic preparation. Another problem, especially in secondary schools, is that many language minority students enter "at risk" of academic failure because of a lack of literacy in their own language, an unfamiliarity with typical American school requirements, and possible conflicts between family culture and school culture. Many have had their education interrupted for long periods of time. Additionally, schools must deal with high turnover rates (Pendas Whitten, Mitchell, Hoppe, Stone & Lawson, 1996). Language minority students' socioeconomic status creates another level of difficulty, as students tend to come from families who live in low-income areas. Given that much of the funding for public schools comes from local property taxes based on assessed real estate values, most school districts in low-income areas must rely on outside sources of funds to provide special educational services. Confronted with all of these difficulties, schools and school districts alone cannot usually meet the varied needs of language minority students, and so they rely on a variety of sources. Despite the challenges faced by school districts and schools, most language minority students are provided with some form of special language education service.

Identifying LEP Students

A troubling statistic is that 20 to 30 percent of language minority students may not be served by special language education programs. Moss and Puma state

> Most (80-90 percent) LEP students receive some form

> of supplementary education through federal, state or local programs. However, 30 percent of LEP students in 1st and 3rd grade do not receive ESL/bilingual instruction from any source, largely because they attend schools that do not provide services. (1995, p. *i*-4)

Where services are provided, there is the question of how schools, school districts, state departments of education and the federal Department of Education identify students in need of LEP services. Bilingual education is endorsed by an act of Congress, and funds for bilingual programs are authorized by Congress, which also provides an operational definition of limited English proficiency (see Appendix B); however, there is no legally mandated definition of limited English proficiency (Macías & Kelly, 1996).

As there is no uniformly prescribed definition, the determination of LEP status is largely left up to state and local educational agencies and schools. Some states use the federal definition. According to the SEA reports, 8 of the 47 states that responded to the 1994-95 school year survey did so. Some states use only some of the criteria. For example, 34 used "non-English language background," 23 used "difficulties with English speaking, reading, writing, and understanding," and 20 used both (Macías & Kelly, 1996, sect. 2, para. 13). Table 18 lists the methods used by states to identify LEP students in 1994-95, including language proficiency tests and various forms of informal assessments.

Anstrom (1996) provides an additional illustration of the different ways states identify LEP students. California, New York, and Texas all use a home language other than English as a determinant, and they also all use proficiency test scores. In California, the test publisher determines the normed score, while New York sets the norm at the 40th percentile. Texas does not use normed scoring; instead, the student's English language proficiency is judged against their native language proficiency. If their native language proficiency is higher, they may be classified as LEP. In addition, Texas uses teacher referrals, parental input and student interviews to determine LEP status (Anstrom, 1996, paras. 8-12).

As a consequence of the various definitions of LEP, some students in need of special services targeted at LEP students may not be provided with services that a similar student receives in another school district or state. At issue, then, is how to collect "comparable, accurate and reliable data" that will ensure that all students in need of LEP services receive them (Anstrom, 1996, para. 5).

Instructional Programs for Language Minority Students

Language minority students are provided services through a number of federal, state and local programs. In surveying the various types, we find that similar programs often have different labels and different programs often have similar labels. Therefore, instead of defining program types abstractly, we will review three typologies of ESL and bilingual program structures which are used in the U.S.: (1) program terms used by federal, state and local agencies, (2) labels for instructional programs provided by schools and school districts, and (3) categories of instructional services actually received by students.

Federal, state, and local programs. As mentioned in Part 1, the federal government provides grants for a variety of programs under Title VII of the Improving America's Schools Act.[39]

> - **The Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) Program**—assists LEP students in elementary and secondary schools to acquire English language, mathematics, and science skills and also to meet the promotion and graduation standards by providing content area instruction in the native language to the extent necessary;
> - **The Developmental Bilingual Education (DBE) Program**—are[sic] full-time instructional programs which provide structured English language instruction and instruction in a second language. These programs must help students achieve competence in English and a second language while mastering subject matter skills;
> - **The Special Alternative Instructional Program (SAIP)**—offers specially designed curricula to meet the linguistic and instructional needs of LEP students in elementary and secondary schools. In such programs the native language of the LEP students need not be used;
> - **The Family English Literacy Program (FELP)**—assists LEP adults and out-of-school youth to achieve competence in English. Classes may be conducted in English only or in English and the students' native language. Preference for inclusion in the program is given to the parents and immediate family of LEP students assisted under the Bilingual Education Act; and
> - **The Special Populations Program (SPP)**—assists preschool, special education, and gifted and talented programs serving LEP students. (Macías & Kelly, 1996, sect. 4, para. 2)

Table 19 lists the percentages of LEP student enrollment in these five major federal programs provided under Title VII as well as the percentages of enrollment in state and local programs reported by SEAs in 1994-95. Only about 9 percent of the total LEP student population participated in Title VII federally funded programs. Most of those students—i.e., 6 percent of the total LEP population—were enrolled in transitional bilingual education (TBE) programs.[40]

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[39] Title VII of the Improving America's Schools Act is the most recent revision of the Bilingual Education Act.

States and local educational agencies (school districts) also report on specific language education programs, which they describe as either bilingual or ESL stand-alone programs. Table 19 shows that 77 percent of the students identified as LEP and receiving special language services in 1994-95 were enrolled in state and local programs. A slightly higher number of students were enrolled in bilingual education (38 percent) than were enrolled in ESL stand-alone programs (30 percent). Other than the basic distinction between ESL and stand-alone, not much information is known about the particular character of the state and local programs.

Instructional programs provided by the schools. Using funds received from various federal, state, and local agencies, schools design instructional programs to meet their particular goals and objectives. These programs can be classified into seven generic program labels proposed by August and Hakuta (1997), which may best describe the various types of programs schools provide. The authors classify programs according to "native-language use, the mix of the students' linguistic backgrounds, and the goals of the program" (19).

- [1] *English as a second language (ESL)*—Students receive specified periods of instruction aimed at the development of English-language skills, with a primary focus on grammar, vocabulary, and communication rather than academic content areas.

- [2] *Content-based ESL*—Students receive specified periods of ESL instruction that is structured around academic content rather than generic English language skills.

- [3] *Sheltered instruction*—Students receive subject matter instruction in English, modified so that it is accessible to them at their levels of English proficiency.

- [4] *Structured immersion*—All students in the program are English-language learners, usually though not always from different language backgrounds. They receive instruction in English, with an attempt made to adjust the level of English so subject matter is comprehensible. Typically there is no native-language support.

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[40] As discussed in the previous section, of the available federal programs, language minority students are more frequently served through Chapter 1 programs than through Title VII. Chapter 1 funding is intended to provide "instructional and support services to educationally disadvantaged students in school districts with high concentrations of low-income children" (Macías & Kelly, 1996, sect. 4, para. 6).

- [5] *Transitional bilingual education*—Most students in the program are English-language learners. They receive some degree of instruction through the native language; however, the goal of the program is to transition to English as rapidly as possible, so that even within the program, there is a rapid shift toward using primarily English.
- [6] *Maintenance bilingual education*—Most students in the program are English-language learners and from the same language background. They receive significant amounts of their instruction in their native language. Unlike transitional programs, these programs aim to develop English proficiency, but also to develop academic proficiency in the native language.
- [7] *Two-way bilingual programs*—About half of the students in these programs are native speakers of English, and the other half are English-language learners from the same language group. The goal of the program is to develop proficiency in both languages for both groups of students. (August & Hakuta, 1997, pp. 19-20)[41]

According to August and Hakuta, of these seven program types, ESL-only and transitional bilingual education are the most common while maintenance and two-way bilingual programs are relatively rare (1997, p. 20).

Based on survey data, Fleischman and Hopstock (1993) identified nine types of special language instructional services schools provided in 1991-92. The authors classify programs according to whether LEP students were provided with special instructional service, whether that service was specifically intended for LEP students, how intensive the service was, and what language was used in instruction.

> **Type 1 - No special or additional services.** This type is defined by the absence of any special instructional services for LEP students. It may or may not include special monitoring of such students.
>
> **Type 2 - Additional services not specific to LEP students.** This type includes a range of special services but which are not specifically designed for LEP students. These services may include in-class aides, Chapter 1 or other resource teachers, tutoring or special education.
>
> **Type 3 - Some special services provided all in English.** This type includes a range of services specifically designed for LEP students, but provided in instructional contexts not designed for such students. Virtually all instruction is in English. Services include special aides for LEP students, special LEP Chapter 1 or other resource teachers, or ESL instruction provided for less than 10 hours per week.
>
> **Type 4 - Some special services with some instruction in the native language.** This type of service is similar to Type 3, except that some instruc-

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[41] Numbers added in brackets correspond to types of program structures listed in Tables 21-23.

> tion is provided in the native language (i.e., less than 50 percent use in one academic subject, or less than 25 percent use in math, science, and social studies combined).
>
> **Type 5 - Some special services with significant use of the native language for instruction.** This type of service is similar to Types 3 and 4, except that a significant amount of instruction is provided in the native language (more than 50 percent use in one academic subject, or more than 25 percent use in math, science, and social studies combined).
>
> **Type 6 - Intensive special services provided all in English.** This type includes a range of special services which are specifically designed for LEP students and are provided primarily in contexts focused on LEP students. Virtually all instruction is in English. Services include ESL instruction for 10 hours or more per week and content instruction in other academic subjects which is specifically designed for LEP students.
>
> **Type 7 - Intensive special services with some instruction using the native language.** This type is similar to Type 6, except that some instruction is provided in the native language (i.e., less than 50 percent in one academic subject, or less than 25 percent in math, science, and social studies combined).
>
> **Type 8 - Intensive special services with significant use of the native language for instruction.** This type is similar to Types 6 and 7, except that a significant amount of instruction is provided using the native language (more than 50 percent use in one academic subject, or more than 25 percent used in math, science and social studies combined).
>
> **Type 9 - Unknown services.** Sufficient information could not be obtained to categorize these services. (Fleischman & Hopstock, 1993, pp. 23-26)

The most frequently offered service was Type 3, in which some service specifically designed for LEP students was provided using English as the language of instruction (see Table 20). Type 3 services were offered by 49 percent of the schools; followed by Type 8, intensive services designed for LEP students with significant use of the native language in instruction, offered by slightly more than 20 percent of the schools; and finally Type 6, intensive services designed for LEP students using English as the language of instruction, offered by 20 percent of the schools.

August and Hakuta's claim that ESL-only programs and transitional bilingual education are "the two prevalent models" is generally supported by the Fleischman and Hopstock survey data for programs provided: Type 3 may be seen as analogous to ESL-only; Type 8 may be seen as corresponding to transitional bilingual education; and Type 6 as analogous to sheltered instruction, which is all in English with modification for comprehensibility. However, when we examine the data from the perspective of services received by students, a somewhat different picture emerges.

Instructional services received. Based on the above data, one might assume that more students are receiving instruction exclusively through the medium of English, but this is not the case (See Table 20). In the same Fleischman and Hopstock (1993) survey, schools reported that 21 percent of LEP students were receiving at least some instruction through their native language (Types 4 & 7) and 37 percent were receiving significant amounts of instruction in their native language (Types 5 & 8), for a total of 58 percent. On the other hand, only about 31 percent were receiving instruction only through English (Types 3 & 6).[42] So the majority of schools that offer special services are providing programs through English-only medium of instruction while the majority of students are receiving at least some instruction through the medium of their native language. One explanation might be that districts with large populations of language minority students generally provide bilingual education. Another explanation may be that students receive instruction from classroom aides who use their native languages.

Program goals vs. program structures. The lack of uniformity in program terminology makes adequate comparisons difficult. There also appears to be a gap between program design and implementation (cf. Hornberger, 1991, pp. 216-221). One way of addressing these issues and facilitating a general understanding of the many ways that bilingual education is implemented in the United States (and elsewhere) is to make a distinction between program goals and program structures (cf. Hornberger, 1991, pp. 221-227).

Viewed from the perspective of program goals, there are basically three models of bilingual education for language minority students in the United States: transitional, maintenance, and enrichment. First, there are bilingual programs whose primary goal is to transition students to monolingual, English-language classrooms. Although some of the students' home language(s) may be used to facilitate this process, the overarching goal of *Transitional Bilingual Education* (TBE) is for students to shift from the home, minority language to English literacy as quickly as possible. This model also implies goals of cultural assimilation and social incorporation of language minorities in the national society (cf. Spener, 1988). In contrast, *Maintenance Bilingual Education* (MBE) aims to assist students to maintain and oftentimes develop their literacy skills in the home language as they simultaneously develop literacy skills in English. Whereas the goal of transitional programs is English literacy, the goal of maintenance programs is bilingualism and biliteracy (see Hornberger, 1989 for definition and discussion of biliteracy). The MBE model also implies goals of strengthened cultural identity and the affirmation of civil rights for ethnic groups in the national society. Similarly to MBE, the goal of *Enrichment Bilingual Education* (EBE) is to develop bilingualism and biliteracy, but in this case not only for language minority students, but also language majority students. The EBE model implies goals of cultural pluralism, intercultural understanding and an integrated national society based on autonomy of cultural groups (see Fishman, 1976, pp. 34-36, for an early discussion of EBE). These three types of goals correspond to the three language orientations mentioned earlier: TBE with a language-as-problem orientation, MBE with a language-as-right orientation, and EBE with a language-as-resource orientation (Ruíz, 1984).

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[42] Variables that Fleischman and Hopstock identify as the strongest predictors of instruction in students' native language are the presence of a teacher who speaks the students' language and having a high percentage of students who speak the same language, particularly Spanish (1993, p. 27).

On the other hand, from the perspective of program structures, there is a myriad of possibilities for implementing the above bilingual education models. Any attempt to define bilingual education program structures must include consideration of a wide number of structural and contextual characteristics such as the numbers and types of students involved, the language(s) spoken, the classroom strategies and program sequencing used, the material and human resources available to carry out the programs, the external political pressures, and many other factors (Hornberger, 1991, pp. 223-225). The seven generic types suggested by August and Hakuta (1997) identify the most commonly used program structures in the United States, but there are many more (possible and actual) structures. We will return for a glimpse of how some program structures look in actual practice in the section on Classroom Practice below. First, we will discuss two other areas of importance in providing special language education programs.

Teacher Training and Supply

Teachers, of course, greatly determine the quality of the educational services language minority students receive. There is, however, a severe shortage of teachers with the skills needed to serve the increasingly linguistically diverse student population, a shortage which is likely to continue for some time (Boe, McMillen & Bobbitt, 1990). It is estimated that 170,000 - 175,000 additional bilingual teachers will be needed by the year 2000.[43] In California alone, according to the National Forum (1990) study, approximately 20,000 ESL and bilingual teachers were needed, and more than half of the existing bilingual teachers were teaching under *waivers*, i.e.

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[43] The following figures are cited by August and Hakuta: "Macías (1989, cited in Leighton et al., 1993) estimates a need for approximately 170,000 additional teachers to serve English-language learners by the year 2000. In its 1994 report on limited English proficiency, the General Accounting office (U.S. GAO, 1994) cites the National Education Association's estimate that 175,000 additional bilingual teachers are needed" (1997, p. 252).

special licenses granted on a temporary basis (cited in August & Hakuta, 1997, p. 252). In addition, the Association for School, College and University Staffing (1990), in their national survey of teacher placement officers, ranked bilingual education the highest in terms of teacher shortage and teacher demand (cited in Milk, Mercado & Sapiens, 1992, para. 4).

Many teachers who are teaching language minority students lack sufficient training. Fleischman and Hopstock found that only 10 percent of the teachers of LEP students in 1991-1992 were certified in bilingual education and only between 8 and 9 percent were certified to teach ESL, with the greatest numbers being certified at the elementary level (1993, p. 46, Table V-4). Significantly, fewer teachers were certified at the middle and high school levels, especially in bilingual education. For example, approximately 16 percent of elementary teachers surveyed had bilingual education certification compared to 4 percent of high school teachers (Fleischman & Hopstock 1993, p. 46, Table V-4).

Teachers of LEP students often do not speak their students' native language. In the same Fleischman and Hopstock study, it was found that only 41 percent of teachers of LEP students shared a non-English language with them. Approximately one half of the elementary and middle-school teachers shared a non-English language with their LEP students as compared to one quarter of high school teachers.[44] If a child speaks a language other than English or Spanish, the teacher is even less likely to speak the child's language. Moss and Puma found that that fewer than 15 percent of first-grade and approximately 25 percent of third-grade LEP students in classes where the predominant language was not English had teachers who were fluent in that language (1995, p. 4-14).

Even though teachers may not receive training in ESL or bilingual education during their initial teacher preparation programs, they may have opportunities for in-service training. Fleischman and Hopstock found that teachers of LEP students had received an average of 13 hours of in-service training related to LEP instruction (1993, p. 41). Time spent in training "ranged from 34 hours in the districts with the largest numbers of LEP students to 9 hours in districts with the smallest numbers" (1993, p. 41). Ongoing professional development is not limited to district or school sponsored in-service training. Teachers often take college courses, and some districts, especially those with larger numbers of LEP students, offer financial support enabling teachers to take additional courses.

Though opportunities exist for continuing professional development, many teachers of LEP students may not take advantage of them. Fleischman and Hopstock report that within the last five years "only 55 percent of all teachers of LEP students had taken relevant college courses or had received recent in-service training related to teaching LEP students" (1993, p. 42). Even when teachers receive in-service training it may not be effective. Research on staff development and pre-service programs suggests that what teachers receive through in-service training doesn't resemble what has been learned about effective professional development. Typically, in-service programs amount "to short-term superficial workshops that expose teachers to various concepts without providing the depth of treatment or connection to practice necessary for lasting effects" (August & Hakuta, 1997, p. 255).

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[44] Elementary teachers, 45.8 percent; middle school teachers, 47.9 percent; and high school teachers, 25.5 percent (Fleischman & Hopstock, 1993, p. 47, Table V-5).

One way in which states are attempting to overcome the critical shortage of trained teachers is through the issuance of alternative certificates, which enable professionals in other fields to become teachers. About half of the states have adopted some form of alternative certification to increase the bilingual teacher supply. To be eligible for alternative certification, candidates typically must hold a bachelor's degree, pass a standardized test, and attend an intensive training program. In addition "these teachers take about 200 classroom hours of pedagogy and have some type of support, such as a mentor" (Pendas Whitten, et al., 1996, para. 52). [45]

School districts and individual schools attempt to overcome the shortage of teachers who are able to speak the languages of their students by using classroom aides. Moss and Puma found that, for 1991-92, over 40 percent of the LEP students in first and third grades had reading teachers who used aides (1995, p. 4-12). They also reported that of the first-grade LEP students in math classes with classroom aides, four-fifths of those students had aides proficient in the students' non-English language, while in reading classes, fewer than half had aides who spoke their native tongue (1995, p. 4-14). Fleischman and Hopstock's data suggests a possible relationship between the intensity of service provided and the aides' knowledge of a non-English language. They found that "78 percent of instructional aides primarily serving LEP students were fluent in a native language, while 42 percent of the instructional aides serving some LEP students were fluent in a native language" (1993, p. 40).

The lack of qualified teachers also has a direct impact on the types of programs schools provide. Many schools with limited resources attempt to cope with the increased demand for special language services by using *ESL pull-out programs* in which language minority students, individually or in groups, are taken out of some mainstream courses (e.g, math, science, social studies) for ESL instruction. These pull-out programs are the most prevalent form of ESL instruction, yet they are generally inadequate for developing English language proficiency, and they may also negate the benefits students could derive from mainstream classes. Citing Handscombe (1989), Anstrom states that students often assume "the short period of pull-out instruction is the learning for the day, while the time spent in mainstream classes is merely a waiting period until proficiency is acquired" (1997, para. 9). Furthermore, according to Anstrom, pull-out time is often devoted to completing mainstream homework rather than to instruction in English (1997, para. 9).

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[45] Most states do not have ESL or bilingual certification. To attempt to meet the need for ESL and bilingual education teachers, states permit teachers who are certified in content areas and who have minimal qualifications (such as training in teaching a foreign language or ability to speak a foreign language) to obtain an endorsement that allows them to teach in ESL or bilingual classrooms. The California CLAD and B-CLAD are examples of endorsement systems.

The shortage of teachers with the special training and skills necessary to meet the needs of language minority students may be "the single greatest barrier to the improvement of instructional programs" (Gold, 1995, p. 224). Even if we could attract people into teacher preparation programs, institutions entrusted with training teachers do not know enough about how to best train them. People closely aligned with ESL and bilingual education perceive a great need for teachers, given the increasing language minority population; however, others appear not to view the demand in the same way. Except for those directly involved in providing services for language minority students, educators in the U.S. have not given much consideration to the teaching of language minority students. Increasing attention, however, is being given to creating appropriate assessments for language minority learners. It is to assessment that we now turn.

Assessment

Like language majority students, language minority students are assessed for program placement, achievement, and eligibility for advancement. In addition, several of the purposes for assessment are unique to language minority students:

- Identification of children whose English proficiency is limited
- Determination of eligibility for placement in specific language programs (e.g., bilingual education or English as a Second Language [ESL])
- Monitoring of progress in and readiness to exit from special language service programs (August & Hakuta, 1997, pp. 113-114)

In the context of the recent U.S. focus on standards-based reform, assessment has become a central issue. Developing assessments that can appropriately measure language minority students' placement and achievement is of special concern because many standards-based reform efforts and the assessment systems that support them do not specifically account for the language learning context of language minority students. The assumption seems to be that if we reform education across the board, language minority students will benefit without attention to their special needs. LaCelle-Peterson and Rivera argue against the latter assumption in pointing out, first of all, that language minority students have experienced "disproportionate assignment to lower curriculum tracks on the basis of inappropriate assessment" (1994, p. 56), and secondly, that in order to reform such inequity, specific attention to the assessment needs of language minority students is necessary.

Given the implications of assessment for language minority students, the types of instruments used to measure their English language proficiency and academic progress should be sensitive to the language learning context. Many commonly used language proficiency tests, however, measure "a limited range of decontextualized grammatical and structural skills" and set low language and literacy standards (August & Hakuta, 1997, pp. 116-118). Discrete item tests are useful, but they often do not assess the full range of language knowledge and skills that a child may have. Therefore, the validity of these tests to adequately measure language minority students' second language proficiency is in question. Alternative assessments such as oral interviews, story retelling and portfolios have increasingly been used. These more authentic assessments reflect the multifaceted nature of language that varies according to task demands and content area, and so have greater validity; however, they are difficult to administer and score objectively, which can affect their reliability (August & Hakuta, p. 117).

Possibly a greater challenge lies in assessing language minority students' academic achievement in appropriate and equitable ways. Until recently, language minority students were often excluded from state and national assessments, though efforts have recently been made to increase inclusion (Olson & Goldstein, 1996). According to August and Lara (1996), only 5 states required language minority students to take statewide assessments, while 36 states exempted them (cited in August & Hakuta, 1997, p. 119). In 1994, Improving America's Schools Act required that language minority learners be included in assessments of all students "to the extent practicable and in a manner that yields the most accurate results" (NCBE, 1997, para. 4). Also in 1994, Goals 2000: Educate America Act called for "*valid, nondiscriminatory, and reliable State assessments* (Sec. 306 (c) 1)(B)) that are aligned to State standards, involve multiple measures of student performance, and include all students" (U.S. Dept. of Education, 1998b, sect. 3, para. 10). An issue critical to increasing the inclusion of language minority students in statewide assessments is deciding what accommodations are appropriate for testing. Examples include considering the language minority learner in constructing the individual test questions, using native language versions of tests, and modifying the test administration by allowing extra time or by modifying instructions (NCBE, 1997, paras. 24-26).

A major hindrance to assessing language minority students' academic achievement is the level of their English language proficiency. The major factor affecting Spanish speaking students' performance, for example, is the presence of unknown vocabulary in test questions and answer choices (García, 1991, p. 388). García's study as well as other studies indicate that language achievement and aptitude "can be seriously underestimated if the test taker is not proficient in the language in which the test is being given" (August & Hakuta, 1997, p. 121), with the result that language minority students may be wrongfully assigned to a lower educational tracks, as mentioned above.

Several approaches have been used to overcome the language bias in measuring achievement (August & Hakuta, 1997, p. 122). Native language assessments have been attempted; however, translating the test does not necessarily imply that it is equivalent to the English version and may not provide for dialectic differences. Another strategy is to reduce detail and simplify grammar, but simplification may not be of significant help. Alternative assessments may be used, but "there is evidence that scorers may pay attention to linguistic features of performance unrelated to the content of the assessment. Thus, scorers may inaccurately assign low scores for performance in which English expression...is weak" (August & Hakuta, 1997, 122). With the use of alternative assessment, the rating of language minority learners' performance will depend upon the scorers' background knowledge of the process of the language acquisition process and related factors (LaCelle-Peterson & Rivera, 1994, 65). Thus, no single approach seems to address the problem of language bias. Saville-Troike suggests that a sociolinguistic framework would be a more appropriate way to account for "the complexity of factors affecting achievement" (1991, para. 40).

Over the past several years, much research and discussion has been devoted to developing assessment systems for language minority students that are valid and reliable (Anstrom, 1997; August & Hakuta, 1997; Garcia, 1994; NCBE, 1997). Ultimately, the goals of any assessment should be to hold language minority students to high standards for both English language proficiency and literacy and academic achievement.

Summary

With growing numbers of language minority school children, teachers and administrators are faced with the daunting challenge of providing the special educational services these students need to develop their English to a level that will enable them to achieve academically. Most students identified as LEP receive some type of special language services, but 20 percent or more may not. There are also those who are not identified as LEP but remain in need of special language instruction or language-related assessment modifications. While there may be a number of reasons for underidentification, one factor identified here is the lack of a uniform, consistently applied definition of limited English proficiency.

Once students have been identified, they must be enrolled in appropriate programs to meet their language needs, receive instruction from qualified teachers and be assessed fairly. ESL and transitional bilingual education are reported to be the most frequently used program structures; however, in practice there is little uniformity among programs, making comparisons difficult. Our review of the data suggests that the most commonly provided instructional services are in English-only while the majority of students are receiving a major share of their ESL and bilingual instruction in their native language. Overall, we may obtain a clearer picture of the nature of ESL and bilingual programs if we keep the distinction between program goals and program structures in mind.

A shortage of teachers adequately trained in ESL and/or bilingual education may be one of the biggest challenges in providing special language education services. The current, significant shortage of bilingual and ESL teachers is projected to continue and probably worsen in the foreseeable future. More also needs to be learned about how to best prepare teachers to meet the needs of language minority students.

Finally, instruments used to assess language proficiency and academic achievement further compound the problems faced by language minority students. Historically, either language minority students' achievement has not been assessed due to language difficulties, or the same assessment systems that are used for mainstream, English-speaking students are used to assess language minority students with little consideration for the special linguistic challenges and resources of the latter. Although much work has recently been done, research remains to be done toward the goal of developing valid and reliable language minority assessments.

Classroom Practice in Bilingual Education

This section will examine some of the bilingual program structures commonly used in the United States from the viewpoint of classroom practice. Our discussion will be organized according to program goals, i.e., transition, maintenance and enrichment. Narrative vignettes are provided to elucidate how bilingual education is experienced in complicated, real-life scenarios. In our descriptions, we move away altogether from using *LEP* and *language minority*, instead preferring *English-language learner* (ELL) to describe those whose first language is not English and who are in the process of learning English in the schools. Tables 21, 22 and 23 present many of the different types of bilingual programs that are currently available to ELLs, adapting and expanding somewhat on the typology offered by August and Hakuta (1997).

Transitional Programs

Table 21 examines programs whose goal is to transition ELLs from fluency in their native language to English language proficiency. These programs all aim for students to acquire English language proficiency, but they use different types of program structures to realize this goal. For example, *submersion programs* typically immerse the ELL in mainstream classrooms with native English speakers. As mentioned in the earlier section on instructional programs, ELLs in submersion programs are often pulled out of mainstream classrooms and given focused English language instruction.

A variation on content-based ESL is the *sheltered instruction* or structured immersion approach. In this approach, teachers modify all content matter instruction so that it is accessible to students' levels of English proficiency. In *transitional bilingual education* (TBE) programs, students are initially placed in a classroom where a bilingual teacher provides all content-area instruction in the child's home language along with ESL instruction. In *early-exit* programs, students enter mainstream English classes within one to three years; in *late-exit* programs, students enter mainstream English classes within three to six years.

Maintenance Bilingual Education

Table 22 examines programs that share the common goal that all students become bilingual and biliterate. These programs differ according to student population and instructional approaches. For example, the *TBE program with a second language component* appears very much like the TBE program described above. However, as ELLs transition into mainstream classrooms, they continue to study their home language for specific periods in the day. Often these programs provide native English speaking students the opportunity to learn the home language of the ELL population. This program is described in the Philadelphia vignette below.

Programs that are explicitly referred to as *Maintenance Bilingual Education* (MBE) programs differ from TBE programs in the quantity of subject matter instruction that ELLs receive in their home language. Typically, MBE programs involve ELLs from similar language backgrounds, and they place greater emphasis than do TBE programs on the students' development of academic proficiency in their first language over longer periods of time (7 to 13 years).

Enrichment Bilingual Education

Enrichment bilingual education (EBE) is realized in *Two-way bilingual* and *immersion programs* that involve ELLs and native English speakers (Table 23). Although these programs vary, the overall goal of two-way programs is for each language group to acquire academic proficiency in English as well as the home language of the ELL population. Typically these programs follow one of two structures in terms of language sequencing. The first is the *fifty/fifty* structure, where half of the instructional content is taught in the minority language, and the other half is taught in English. The second is the *ninety/ten* structure, where about 90 percent of the instruction is in the minority language in the primary grades. The latter structure often increases English instruction to the fifty/fifty structure by the time students enter the upper elementary grades.

Bilingual Education Classroom Practice in the United States

Tables 21, 22 and 23 offer a simple classification system that highlights many of the general differences between bilingual program structures; however, they do not account for the detailed differences that exist in real-life scenarios. There are many ways that teachers actually teach bilingually, using varying degrees of the students' first language and English within varying classroom formats. For example, according to Faltis and Hudelson (1998), teachers may decide to allocate languages by day of the week, time of day, by course content (i.e., language arts in native language and math in English), or by type of classroom talk (preview in one language, content instruction in another). Teachers may use English and allow learners to use their native language. Alternatively, teachers may begin the year in the native language, gradually increasing their use of English in instruction, or they may translate concurrently or switch from one language to another without translation. Team teaching--pairing monolingual English with bilingual or native-speaking teachers—may be used. The overall approach to language allocation may be modified in individual or small group interaction in order to scaffold students' learning or build rapport (Faltis & Hudelson, 1998, p. 53).

To give a picture of how bilingual language and literacy learning actually takes place, the following vignettes, based on actual U.S. classrooms, are provided. All of them describe programs at the elementary level because the majority of programs are provided at that level. For more information on bilingual programs at the secondary level see Lucas, Henze & Donato, 1990.

Los Angeles, California: Content-based ESL, language arts. Mr. Hass is a fifth-grade classroom teacher at New Leaf newcomer school in Los Angeles. There are several *newcomer schools* in the Los Angeles area designed to meet the needs of students for whom it is their first year in the United States. Newcomer schools often reflect the diverse immigrant population of the city, with the greatest numbers of students from Chinese and Hispanic backgrounds. Students are bussed from all over the city to attend this special school, and teachers are highly trained in methods for teaching English language and academic content. All students in this program will spend their first year of public education at the newcomer school, and then they will attend schools that are located in their respective communities.

During the morning hours, Mr. Hass teaches mathematics, science, and language arts to an entirely Chinese classroom. Mr. Hass is Anglo-American of European descent and has no Chinese fluency. Though most of the students' work is in English, he does allow time for students to speak and write in their native language. He believes that it is important for children to construct meaning in the language they are comfortable in and that using their native language will contribute to English language proficiency. Mr. Hass works with Ms. Lee, his assistant, who is fluent in Chinese and English. Ms. Lee helps students understand Mr. Hass's instructions, grades student papers that are written in Chinese, and acts as a translator between Mr. Hass and the students' parents or caretakers.

Many of Mr. Hass's English language lessons involve art projects. He feels that hands-on lessons facilitate English language acquisition. For example, one of his favorite units takes place during Halloween when he asks students to make life-size skeletons out of paper. Students acquire English vocabulary words—such as *paper, glue, scissors, draw, cut*, and *paste*—necessary to describe the art project tasks. Following this art lesson, the students are expected to invent characters for their skeletons and describe their characters orally to one another. Then, each student is asked to write a description of his or her skeleton. Mr. Hass assists students with their English writing by providing them with a highly structured paragraph form: "My skeleton's name is ______. He lives in ___________. He likes to eat ____________."

In the afternoons, Mr. Hass's Chinese students mix with students from other classrooms who speak other languages for intensive ESL instruction. Mr. Hass collaborates with two other teachers, who divide up their classrooms according to low, intermediate and high levels of oral proficiency in English. Mr. Hass teaches the high-level ESL students in the afternoon, when he focuses on the complexities of English language grammar and pronunciation.

The teachers at the newcomer school are proud of their program, but they worry about sending their students back to their local schools, where students are often placed into mainstream classrooms with little provision made for newcomers. Mr. Hass and other teachers feel limited by the one-year period they have with students, which offers little time to create relationships with the students' families. Newcomer teachers are usually unable to follow the progress of their students beyond their first year in the public school system. In all, Mr. Hass hopes he has prepared his students with sufficient English language grammar and academic content skills to survive in their local public schools.

San Francisco, California: Dual immersion. Ms. Gonzalez is an educated native speaker of Spanish who was born, raised, and schooled through the university in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Ms. Gonzalez immigrated to the United States at age 23, when she began to take English language classes at a community college in San Francisco. Once she acquired proficiency in English, she pursued a bilingual teaching credential to serve the large Spanish-speaking student population in California.

Ms. Gonzalez works at a dual immersion program in San Francisco, where there is both an educated, middle-class, native-English speaking community (Anglo, African American, and third generation Latino) as well as a working-class, recent-immigrant population, mostly from Mexico. Ten years ago, the school adopted the dual immersion program structure as a means to serve both populations so that native English speakers could learn Spanish and native Spanish speakers could learn English. Given the power of English in the United States, the school decided to adopt the 90/10 structure described above, where children learn almost exclusively through Spanish in the early grades and gradually increase to the 50/50 structure by the third or fourth grade.

Half the students in Ms. Gonzalez' third-grade classroom are Hispanic, though only 30 percent are native Spanish speakers and 20 percent are third-generation Mexican Americans who are native English speakers. The other half of the class includes native speakers of English from African American or Anglo backgrounds. Ms. Gonzalez team-teaches with Mr. Arnold, a native English speaker who has been studying Spanish since college. Although Mr. Arnold teaches in English, his Spanish fluency enables him to communicate with the Spanish dominant students and their parents when necessary. Mr. Arnold and Ms. Gonzalez have divided up the curriculum so that students are instructed in Spanish and English each for 50 percent of the school day.

The two teachers collaboratively designed a social studies project whereby students would learn how to carry out library research to create a Spanish language report on different immigrant populations in the United States, including information about the immigrants' countries of origin. Ms. Gonzalez and Mr. Arnold were aware of the great disparity in educational backgrounds between the immigrant students and the native-born American students. Whereas most immigrant students and their parents had seldom been exposed to the process of writing a library research report, most American-born students and/or their families had had prior exposure to this kind of schooled activity. For this reason, the teachers took a great deal of classroom time to model to all students the explicit process of preparing a library report, from collecting data at the library to writing it up and presenting one's findings. Ms. Gonzalez found that despite ample discussion in the classroom, immigrant students still struggled to accomplish an adequate report, one that relied on multiple library sources and followed the format of a social studies presentation. On the other hand, while the American-born students had mastered the format of the report, they struggled to use the appropriate Spanish grammar and vocabulary to communicate their findings. Ms. Gonzalez concludes that it will take many years before both groups have mastered the schooled language and literacy practices necessary to be bilingual and biliterate. With the recent passage of Proposition 227 in California, which virtually dismantles bilingual education programs in the state, Ms. Gonzalez worries that her students will not receive the five to seven years of ongoing bilingual education they need to become truly biliterate in Spanish and English.

Denver, Colorado: Transitional bilingual education, late-exit. There are large letters and numbers, colorful pictures and student work all over the walls of Ms. Dunn's first-grade classroom at Drew Elementary School in Denver. In the corner of the classroom, there are three bookshelves full of Spanish language literature, a carpet, and multicolored beanbags where her students go to read when they have finished their assignments. Ms. Dunn is a native English speaker who acquired Spanish during college but says that she learned "real" Spanish in the classroom. Ms. Dunn continues to study Spanish vocabulary in mathematics, social studies, and science in order to teach standard Spanish to her students. However, she is often frustrated because the textbooks she uses are written in different versions of Spanish from Mexico, the Caribbean, and Spain. This often complicates teaching and learning with her students, most of whom come from rural towns in Mexico and often speak a nonstandard variety of Spanish that is not found in the textbooks and literature Ms. Dunn uses in her classroom.

Three quarters of the students at Drew Elementary School are Latino; smaller numbers of Anglo, Asian, African American and Native American students are also in the class. Approximately two thirds of the Latino students at Drew participate in the Late-Exit Transitional Bilingual Education program, designed to provide Spanish language instruction to students in kindergarten through the second grade, at which time students are to transition out of the bilingual program and into all-English, mainstream classrooms. However, there is a high rate of transience in the school population at Drew; students often leave Drew before they have finished the second grade. Likewise, immigrant students often arrive from Mexico in the second or third grade, when it is too late for these students to enter into the three-year bilingual program.

Ms. Dunn introduces a new literacy lesson in Spanish each morning for fifteen minutes. At this time, she will teach explicit skills in grammar, vocabulary, and syntax. Following this lesson, students are required to set their goals for the day: what book they will read, what story they will finish writing, what spelling and vocabulary words they will study. Ms. Dunn asks that students work independently on their projects while she works with small groups of four to five students at a time to really monitor the progress of each individual child in her classroom.

In the afternoons, she uses the same small-group format to teach students in English. She divides her small groups up by oral English ability level and rotates through three groups every thirty minutes. During the afternoon she has assistance from a young woman named Ms. Cross who is a native English speaker. Ms. Cross supervises two thirds of the class while Ms. Dunn works intensively with one third of the students. In this way, students in Ms. Dunn's classroom spend at least two hours a day on

Spanish language instruction and two hours a day on English language instruction. However, Ms. Dunn admits that oftentimes her afternoon program is cut short due to schoolwide events or shortened school days. Ms. Dunn feels that it is most important that these students acquire literacy skills in their first language in order to make a successful transition into English literacy.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Transitional bilingual education, early-exit, with a second language component. Ms. Quinn is a second-grade classroom teacher at Porter Elementary School in Philadelphia. The school community is populated by African American and Hispanic students, most of whom are of Puerto Rican descent. Ms. Quinn is Anglo-American of European descent who has acquired partial fluency in Spanish by taking classes at the local university and taking a few summer trips to Mexico. This year, she has 28 Puerto Rican students and 1 student from the Dominican Republic in her transitional second-grade classroom. At Porter Elementary School, *transitional* means that students who have been receiving content instruction primarily in Spanish will begin receiving content instruction in English, with Spanish language support from the classroom teacher and assistant. Once these students have entered English language classrooms, they will continue to study Spanish for one period of the day with their native English-speaking peers. In this way, the school promotes Spanish language maintenance among native Spanish speakers and encourages Spanish foreign language study among the native English speaking student population.

As she plans her mathematics curriculum this year, Ms. Quinn discovers several contradictions between the expectations she perceives from the district officials and school administrators, the needs of her classroom students, and her own language abilities. Although according to the bilingual program, Ms. Quinn is expected to teach mathematics in English, school administrators have encouraged her to teach some mathematics in Spanish so that students can continue to take the Spanish-language version of the end-of-the-year mathematics exam. The Philadelphia superintendent has made clear that students in the school district must show improvement on test scores from one year to the next, regardless of the language in which they take the exam.

The textbook coordinator gives Ms. Quinn the new math series texts in Spanish. Ms. Quinn is grateful that the textbook is in Spanish because she feels that the English textbook would be far too complicated for the second language proficiency levels of her students. However, she feels limited in her ability to teach this material in Spanish. She frequently turns to her classroom aide, Andrea, for assistance. Andrea is a native Spanish speaker who was raised and educated in Honduras. At times, Andrea encounters differences between the Spanish language she learned in Honduras, the Spanish language used by the textbook companies, and the Puerto Rican

Spanish used by the students.

School administrators have decided that when Ms. Quinn's students enter third grade, they will use English language textbooks and take the English language exam. The teacher's greatest concern is that students' test scores will not reflect all the teaching and learning that has gone on in her classroom. She feels that until these students receive several more years of bilingual instruction, they will not be prepared to perform well in any exam that is administered strictly in one language or another.

Summary

We have just reviewed several examples of what goes on in specific bilingual classrooms in the United States. Not surprisingly, given the statistics on U.S. language minority populations reviewed in earlier sections of this report, three out of four of the above examples took place where the ELL population was native Spanish speakers.

Each teacher described above struggles with how to implement bilingual education in the classroom. For example, Mr. Hass felt limited by the short, one-year program offered to his students. Ms. Gonzalez is concerned about the disparity in educational background between her immigrant and American-born students. She is also frustrated by recent political decisions in California that may negatively affect her students' biliterate growth. Ms. Dunn is often frustrated with her textbook materials that use several varieties of standard Spanish that are unfamiliar to her students. Finally, Ms. Quinn is concerned about her limited Spanish proficiency in some of the academic domains. Ms. Quinn is also frustrated by annual assessments that do not and cannot reflect the bilingual language abilities and academic skills her students have acquired.

In sum, bilingual classroom practice is affected by several different variables including the teachers' proficiency in the students' language, the availability of a monolingual or bilingual assistant, the classroom and school population, community attitudes, available funding and resources, the training available for teachers, the political context, and many other factors. For this reason, bilingual education cannot be described simply according to program labels; rather, an authentic understanding of bilingual education must also take into account the sociocultural, political, historical, and economic contexts in which it takes place.

Conclusion

As the United States continues to become more culturally and linguistically diverse, English remains the dominant language, and English proficiency is assumed to be necessary for social acceptance as well as educational and economic success. The census data support the assumption that a lack of rapid English acquisition could hurt one's chances for employment and for high-status jobs. Consequently, a great deal—though not all—of the research and policy-making with regard to language minority students focuses on their shift to English.

In the U.S., the nation's public schools are entrusted with developing language minority children's English language abilities. This is a considerable challenge given the increasing numbers of children with limited English proficiency entering the schools, the limited resources available, and the politicized environments in which bilingual educators work. The most popular types of instructional programs for language minority students—ESL and transitional bilingual education—emphasize rapid English language development.

Language education programs appear to be falling short of adequately supporting language minority students' development of academic English language proficiency and achievement in content areas. Our review of the literature has led us to identify at least five focus areas for research that could lead to improvement in program policy:

1) **Student Identification.** Given the variety of methods used by state and local educational agencies to identify LEP students, a student who is identified as such in one state may not be in another. As a result, those who need language services may not be receiving them.

2) **Program Provision.** Differences among program typologies and variation in how programs are implemented make comparisons difficult. Also, program structures are frequently modified to respond to localized needs. Distinguishing program goals from program structures is one way to create a basis for comparison.

3) **Teacher Professional Development.** A major challenge in providing adequate language services for language minority students is the lack of teachers sufficiently trained in ESL and bilingual education; this is especially true in secondary schools.

4) **Assessment (language and subject matter).** Assessment of language proficiency and academic achievement are of great importance in identifying the need for language services, in student placement, and in monitoring students' progress. However, our knowledge of how to reliably assess language minority students is lim-

ited, and until recently, many language minority students have been excluded from standard assessments of academic achievement.

5) **Classroom Practice.** How bilingual education is implemented varies considerably depending on the size and mix of the language minority population, teachers' proficiency in the students' language, the availability of bilingual aides, decisions about instructional allocation of language, teacher training and professional development, and the socioeconomic context of the classroom.

We turn to Cooper's notion of acquisition planning and Hornberger's continua of biliteracy to understand how research in these five areas, with a focus on the students' perspective, could inform language education policy.

Research Framework

Cooper defines acquisition planning as "organized efforts to promote learning of a language" (1989, p. 157). He identifies two dimensions of language education planning, goals and methods. Goals include acquisition as a foreign or second language, reacquisition of a once native tongue, and language maintenance. Among methods, there are those which create or improve *opportunities* to learn the target language, such as using authentic materials in the classroom; those which create or improve *incentive* to learn, such as requiring an English language proficiency exam; and those which *do both simultaneously* such as using the target language as a medium in a student-sponsored project.

The continua of biliteracy provide a model of the processes involved in becoming literate in two languages (Hornberger, 1989; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 1998). There are continua of *contexts*, for example, that include micro to macro, oral to literate, and bi- and multilingual to monolingual dimensions. There are also continua of *development, content* and *media* of biliteracy. A premise of this model is that, given the goal of facilitating language minority learners' English language development, there is a need to shift power to the less powerful ends of the continua. A shift in power results not only in a focus on learners but in the empowerment of learners by granting them agency and voice.

The continua provide us a way to operationalize Cooper's notions of opportunity and incentive in the context of both bilingual and ESL programs. For example, by providing programs which focus on native language development (content and development continua) and by using texts which draw on learners' background (media and context continua), educators are in essence providing opportunities for second language acquisition and creating incentives to learn the second language. See Figure 2.

Our study assumes that the learners' perspective on language education is central. In our proposed framework, the learners' perspective is circumscribed by what occurs in the classroom, school, and school district. We will not be looking at language learning outside of school. Nevertheless, we recognize that decisions and actions that occur outside the classroom influence what occurs within it. We also recognize that test scores and perceptions of learning influence policy. Therefore, our understanding of how opportunities and incentives are created for the learner is incomplete without an account of how context interacts with the classroom.

	Continua of biliteracy			
Research areas	**Context**	**Development**	**Content**	**Media**
Student identification				
Program provision				
Teacher professional development				
Assessment				
Classroom practice				

Figure 2. Opportunities and incentives matrix: Research areas and the continua of biliteracy.

We will take into account three types of contextual influence (see Figure 3). First, national, state, and local education policies influence the learners' perceived opportunities and incentives to learn, for example, through the allocation of program resources. Second, the economic functions of language influence participants. We should account for teachers and school administrators' attitudes and beliefs about the value of the various languages involved, as well as the relative value of the languages to the student, the community and society. The economics of language literature helps us to identify how attitudes, beliefs and values interact with the policymaking process and helps us to interpret choices learners make about how much to invest in learning a language (Grin, 1996a, 1996b; Vaillancourt, 1996). Third, we need to maintain attention on the ways sociopolitical context interacts with the provision of opportunities and incentive to learn. Our literature review has shown, for example, that language education policy is alternately constrained and enhanced by changes in the U.S. political environment.

Our primary research goal is to inform language education policy in the above-mentioned five areas, with a focus on the learners' perspective.

This research fits well with recent research agendas formulated at the national level. There has been a recent call for investigation into language minority education that focuses on the learner and extends existing theories and methodologies, addresses questions of interest to teachers and policymakers, and combines interpretive and analytic paradigms (August & Hakuta, 1997). There has also been a call to understand the part that language plays in investment in human capital (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1995). This project seeks to inform these national research agendas as well.

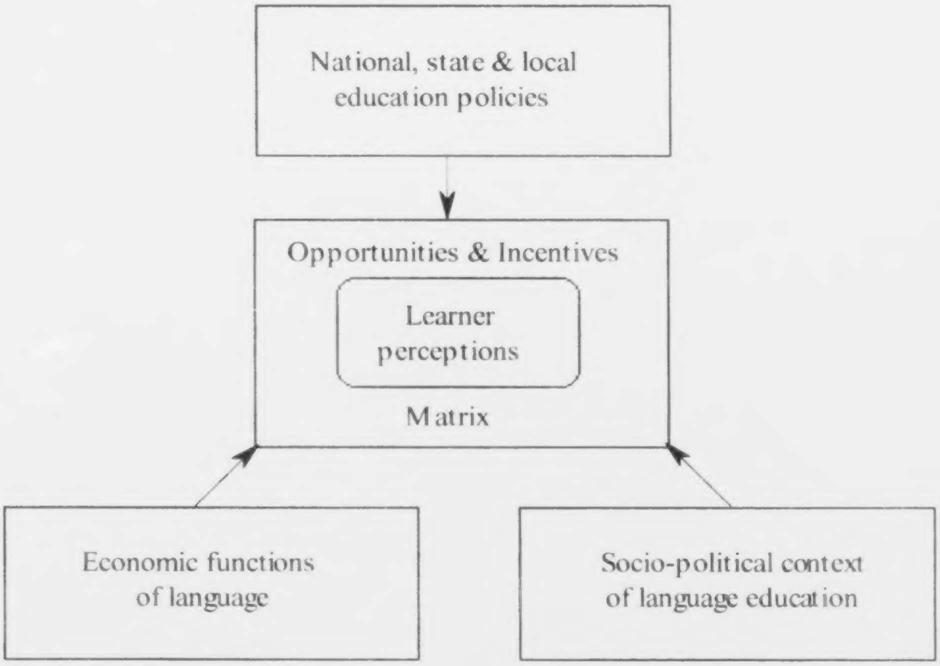
National, state & local education policies
Opportunities & Incentives
Learner perceptions
Matrix
Economic functions of language
Socio-political context of language education

Figure 3. Research Framework.

Research Questions

Our focal question is, How do schools structure opportunity and incentive for language minority learners to acquire language and literacy? We will examine that question in a number of schools and/or school districts to be determined, in a geographic location also to be determined.

A. How do schools structure opportunity and incentive for language minority students to acquire language and literacy in ways that *focus on the learner*?

   Student Identification
   Program Provision
   Teacher Professional Development
   Assessment (language and subject matter)
   Classroom Practice

B. How do the *economic functions of language* and the *sociopolitical context of language education* influence the ways in which schools structure opportunity and incentive for language minority students to acquire language and literacy?

   Student Identification
   Program Provision
   Teacher Professional Development
   Assessment (language and subject matter)
   Classroom Practice

C. How do *local and national educational policies* constrain and enhance the schools' structuring of opportunity and incentive for language minority students to acquire language and literacy?

   Student Identification
   Program Provision
   Teacher Professional Development
   Assessment (language and subject matter)
   Classroom Practice

D. What *policy modifications* would enhance opportunity and incentive for language minority students to acquire language and literacy?

Student Identification
Program Provision
Teacher Professional Development
Assessment (language and subject matter)
Classroom Practice

Table 1. English or Non-English Languages Spoken at Home by Persons, Aged 5 Years and Over, Percentage of Total Estimated U.S. Population, Percentage of Population of Home Speakers of Non-English Languages: 1990 (Ranked by Total Number of Speakers)

Language or language group	Total number of speakers	Percentage of total population	Percentage of HSNL population
Total US Population	230,445,777	100.00	
Speak only English	198,600,798	86.18	
Speak non-English language	31,844,979	13.82	
Spanish or Spanish Creole	17,345,064	7.53	54.47
French or French Creole	1,930,404	0.84	6.06
German	1,547,987	0.67	4.86
Chinese	1,319,462	0.57	4.14
Italian	1,308,648	0.57	4.11
Tagalog	843,251	0.37	2.65
Polish	723,483	0.31	2.27
Korean	626,478	0.27	1.97
Other Indo-European language	578,076	0.25	1.82
Indic	555,126	0.24	1.74
Vietnamese	507,069	0.22	1.59
Portuguese or Portuguese Creole	430,610	0.19	1.35
Japanese	427,657	0.19	1.34
Greek	388,260	0.17	1.22
Arabic	355,150	0.15	1.12
Native North American languages	331,758	0.14	1.04
Other Slavic language	270,863	0.12	0.85
Russian	241,798	0.10	0.76
Other West Germanic language	232,461	0.10	0.73
Yiddish	213,064	0.09	0.67
Scandinavian	198,904	0.09	0.62
South Slavic	170,449	0.07	0.54
Hungarian	147,902	0.06	0.46
Mon-Khmer	127,441	0.06	0.40
Other and unspecified languages	1,023,614	0.44	3.21

Note. The data in column 2 are from "Language Use Data, Table 4. Languages Spoken at Home by Persons 5 years and Over, by State: 1990" [online], published May 1997. Available: http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/lang_use.html [7 July 1998].

Table 2. U.S. States with Highest Total Estimated Populations, Language Use by Persons, Aged 5 Years and Over: 1990 (Ranked by Total Population)

State	Total	Speaks only English	Speaks non-English language at home	
			N	%
California	27,383,547	18,764,213	8,619,334	31.48
New York	16,743,048	12,834,328	3,908,720	23.35
Texas	15,605,822	11,635,518	3,970,304	25.44
Florida	12,095,284	9,996,969	2,098,315	17.35
Pennsylvania	11,085,170	10,278,294	806,876	7.28
Illinois	10,585,838	9,086,726	1,499,112	14.16
Ohio	10,063,212	9,517,064	546,148	5.43
Michigan	8,594,737	8,024,930	569,807	6.63
New Jersey	7,200,696	5,794,548	1,406,148	19.53

Note. The data in columns 2 - 4 are from "Language Use Data, Table 4. Languages Spoken at Home by Persons 5 years and Over, by State: 1990" [online], published May 1997. Available: http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/lang_use.html [7 July 1998].

Table 3. Estimated Numbers of Home Speakers of Non-English Languages, Aged 5 Years and Over, in 1980 and 1990, and Percentage Change, by Selected Language

Language	1980	1990	Percentage change
Total, all languages	23,060,000	31,845,000	+38.1
Arabic	218,000	355,000	+63.3
Chinese languages	631,000	1,319,000	+109.2
French	1,551,000	1,930,000	+24.5
German	1,587,000	1,548,000	-2.4
Greek	401,000	388,000	-3.3
Hungarian	179,000	148,000	-17.4
Italian	1,618,000	1,309,000	-19.1
Japanese	336,000	428,000	+27.2
Korean	266,000	626,000	+135.3
Polish	821,000	723,000	-11.8
Portuguese	352,000	431,000	+22.4
Russian	173,000	242,000	+39.6
Spanish	11,116,000	17,345,000	+56.0
Vietnamese	195,000	507,000	+160.6
Yiddish	316,000	213,000	-32.6

Note. From "Four in Five Home Speakers of Non-English Languages in the U.S. Speak One of Eight Languages," by D. Waggoner, September 1992, *Numbers and Needs*, 2(5), p. 2. Copyright 1992 by Dorothy Waggoner. Reprinted with permission. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1992, "Education and Language Data by State" (1990 CPH-L-96).

Table 4. Estimated Numbers of People Born in Countries in Which Non-English Languages Are Spoken, 1980 and 1990, and Percentage Change by Country of Birth

Country of birth	1980	1990	Percent change
A. Countries in which Spanish is spoken:			
Total	3,834,000	7,395,000	+92.9
Mexico	2,199,000	4,298,000	+95.4
Cuba	608,000	737,000	+21.2
El Salvador	94,000	465,000	+392.8
Dominican Republic	169,000	348,000	+105.7
Colombia	144,000	286,000	+99.4
Guatemala	63,000	226,000	+257.9
Nicaragua	44,000	169,000	+281.9
Peru	55,000	144,000	+159.8
Ecuador	86,000	143,000	+66.4
Honduras	39,000	109,000	+178.2
Other countries	332,000	469,000	+41.4
B. Countries in which Asian languages are spoken:			
Total	2,129,000	4,339,000	+103.8
China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan	442,000	921,000	+108.5
Philippines	501,000	913,000	+82.0
Korea	290,000	568,000	+96.1
Vietnam	231,000	543,000	+135.1
India	206,000	450,000	+118.6
Japan	222,000	290,000	+30.8
Laos	55,000	172,000	+212.6
Cambodia	20,000	119,000	+489.0
Thailand	55,000	107,000	+95.1
Other countries	107,000	256,000	+138.5
C. Countries in which European languages[a] are spoken:			
Total	4,526,000	3,899,000	-13.8
Germany and Austria	995,000	750,000	-24.7
Italy	832,000	581,000	-30.2
Poland	418,000	388,000	-7.1

(table continues)

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[a] Except English and Spanish.

Country of birth	1980	1990	Percent change
Soviet Union	406,000	334,000	-17.8
Portugal and Brazil	253,000	293,000	+15.9
Haiti	92,000	225,000	+143.9
Greece	211,000	177,000	-15.9
Canada[b]	173,000	153,000	-11.6
Yugoslavia	153,000	142,000	-7.5
France	120,000	119,000	-0.8
Hungary	144,000	110,000	-23.6
Other countries	728,000	628,000	-13.8

Note. From "Census Issues Information on Countries of Birth of Foreign-Born Populations," by D. Waggoner, May 1993, *Numbers and Needs, 3*(3), p. 2. Copyright 1993 by Dorothy Waggoner. Reprinted with permission. Data are from *The Foreign Born Population in the United States: 1990*, by S. J. Lapham (CPH-L-98).

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[b] Number estimated to speak a language other than English at home, based on 1980 proportion.

Table 5. Bilingual Abilities of Non-English Language Speakers, by Age: United States, 1990

	Total NEL Speakers		Bilinguals		NEL Monolinguals	
	N	% (Col/Row)	N	% (Col/Row)	N	% (Col/Row)
5-17 yrs.	6,322,934	19.9% 100.0%	5,415,371	21.5% 85.6%	907,563	13.6% 14.4%
18+ yrs.	25,522,045	80.1% 100.0%	19,757,407	78.5% 77.4%	5,764,638	86.4% 22.6%
5+ yrs.	31,844,979	100.0% 100.0%	25,172,778	100.0% 79.0%	6,672,201	100.0% 21.0%

Note. Bilinguals were constructed by taking those who "speak a language other than English at home" and also "speak English well or very well." *Non-English monolinguals* were constructed by taking those who "speak a language other than English at home" and also "speak English not well or not at all."

From "Inheriting Sins While Seeking Absolution: Language Diversity and Natural Data Sets," by R. Macías, 1994, in D. Spener (Ed.), *Adult Biliteracy in the United States* (p. 17). McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems. Copyright 1994 by the Center for Applied Linguistics and by Delta Systems Co., Inc. Reprinted with permission. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1992, Special tabulation 1990 CPH-L-96. Tables ED90-3, 4, and 5; Language use and English ability, Persons 5 years and over; 5-17 years; and 18 years and over, by state: 1990 Census. Washington, DC: Author.

Table 6. Estimated Numbers of Non-English Speakers, Aged 5 Years and Over, by Language or Language Group: 1990

Language	N	%
Total, all languages	1,845,200	100.0
Spanish	1,460,200	79.1
Chinese languages	111,800	6.1
Korean	33,800	1.8
Portuguese	27,000	1.5
Vietnamese	25,000	1.4
Italian	17,100	0.9
Russian	14,900	0.8
Mon-Khmer (Cambodian)	13,700	0.7
Armenian	13,300	0.7
Polish	13,100	0.7
Hmong	13,100	0.7
Asian Indian languages	12,000	0.7
Thai and Laotian	10,500	0.6
American Indian/Alaskan Native languages	9,100	0.5
French	8,200	0.4
Japanese	7,800	0.4
Haitian Creole	6,200	0.3
Arabic	5,900	0.3
Filipino languages	5,800	0.3
Farsi	5,500	0.3
Greek	5,200	0.3
German	4,400	0.2
Romanian	2,500	0.1
Yiddish	2,000	0.1
Serbo-Croatian	1,800	0.1
Aramaic	1,400	0.1
Ukrainian	1,200	0.1
Hungarian	1,100	0.1
Turkish	1,000	0.1

Note. Percentages calculated on unrounded numbers. From "Majority of Non-English Speakers Speak Spanish but Others Have More Difficulty with English," by D. Waggoner, September 1993, *Numbers and Needs 3*(5), p. 3. Copyright 1993 by Dorothy Waggoner. Reprinted with permission. Data are from *Language Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for the United States, Regions and States* (CPH-L-133).

Table 7. Estimated Numbers of Home Speakers of Non-English Languages, Aged 5 Years and Over, Percentages of Total Population, and Numbers and Percentages with English-Speaking Difficulty, by Nativity and Recency of Immigration: 1990

Nativity and recency of immigration	Total		E-speaking diff	
	N	%	N	%
Total	31,845,000	13.8	13,983,000	43.9
Native-born	16,415,000	7.8	4,823,000	29.4
Foreign-born	15,430,000	79.1	9,160,000	59.4
Pre-1980 immigrants	8,037,000	72.4	4,126,000	51.3
1980-90 immigrants	7,393,000	88.0	5,004,000	67.7

Note. From "Native-born Constitute Half of U.S. Multilingual Population," by D. Waggoner, November 1993, *Numbers and Needs, 3*(6), p. 2. Copyright 1993 by Dorothy Waggoner. Reprinted with permission. Data are from *1990 Profiles of the Foreign-born Populations, Selected Characteristics by Place of Birth*, by S. J. Lapham (CPH-L-148).

Table 8. Estimated Language Minority Population, by Age Group, Home Language Usage, and Language Group: United States, 1990 (Numbers in thousands)

			Aged 5-17			Aged 18 and older		
Language group	Total	Under 5	Total	Eng	Non-Eng	Total	Eng	Non-Eng
Total	47,122	3,856	9,985	3,662	6,323	33,281	7,759	25,522
American Indian/ Alaska Native languages	538	62	145	72	74	331	73	258
Arabic	518	56	103	38	66	359	69	289
Armenian	181	11	30	5	25	141	15	125
Asian Indian languages	817	71	174	55	119	572	45	528
Chinese languages	1,580	106	271	52	219	1,203	103	1,100
Czech	139	3	14	9	5	122	34	88
Dutch	250	17	41	27	14	192	64	128
Farsi	263	24	49	13	36	191	25	166
French	3,391	197	688	420	269	2,506	1,065	1,441
German	2,922	167	496	313	183	2,259	894	1,365
Greek	537	29	83	32	51	426	88	338
Haitian Creole	263	27	64	20	44	172	28	144
Hebrew	222	23	52	19	33	148	36	111
Hmong	107	23	42	1	41	42	1	41
Hungarian	216	8	24	14	10	185	46	138
Italian	2,143	90	263	169	94	1,791	576	1,215
Japanese	664	38	96	46	49	531	153	378
Korean	833	64	171	55	116	599	88	510
Mon-Khmer	154	21	52	3	49	82	3	79
Norwegian	141	6	17	12	6	118	43	75
Polish	1,072	39	116	61	55	917	248	669
Portuguese	584	40	111	35	76	432	78	355
Russian	316	17	52	15	37	248	43	205
Serbo-Croatian	198	10	28	11	17	161	36	125
Slovak	128	3	10	7	3	115	38	77
Spanish	24,782	2,390	5,954	1,786	4,168	16,438	3,260	13,177
Swedish	135	6	18	11	7	111	41	70
Tagalog and Ilocano	1,328	103	275	173	102	951	168	782
Thai/Lao	275	24	75	19	57	175	26	149
Ukrainian	141	6	17	10	6	119	28	90
Vietnamese	622	52	159	25	135	412	39	372
West African languages	114	16	24	16	7	74	16	58
Yiddish	288	17	43	11	32	227	46	181
Other languages	1,258	94	229	109	121	935	242	693

Note. Detail may not add to total because of rounding. From "Language Minority Population Increased by More than a Third Between 1980 and 1990," by D. Waggoner, September 1995, *Numbers and Needs*, 5(5), p. 2. Copyright 1995 by Dorothy Waggoner. Reprinted with permission. Data are from "Detailed Cross-tabulations of Selected Language Groups for States: 1990" [CD-ROM].

Table 9. School Enrollment and Educational Attainment Rates of Monolingual English Speakers, Bilinguals, and People with English-Speaking Difficulty: 1990

		Speak NEL at home	
Characteristic	Speak English only	Speak English very well	English difficulty
School enrollment			
Ages 5-14	92.7	93.7	89.2
Ages 15-17	92.9	92.3	83.7
Ages 18-19	65.8	70.2	53.6
Educational attainment, population 25 and older			
Fewer than 5 years	1.5	3.2	17.9
5-8 years	6.6	9.6	21.4
9-12 years, not graduate	14.1	15.0	18.0
High school graduate only	31.3	23.8	18.2
Some college	43.1	44.9	22.2
High school graduation rate	77.8	72.2	42.7

Note. From "New Language Information Reveals Differences by English-Speaking Ability," by D. Waggoner, July 1995, *Numbers and Needs, 5*(4), p. 1. Copyright 1995 by Dorothy Waggoner. Reprinted with permission. Data are from "Social and Economic Characteristics of Selected Language Groups for U.S. and States: 1990" (PH-L 159).

Table 10. Labor Force Participation Rates and Distribution by Occupation of Monolingual English Speakers, Bilinguals, and People with English-Speaking Difficulty, Aged 16 Years and Over: 1990

Characteristic	Speak English only	Speak NEL at home: Speak English very well	Speak NEL at home: English difficulty
Labor force participation			
In civilian labor force	64.7	64.2	59.4
Employed	60.9	59.4	53.4
Unemployed	3.9	4.8	6.0
Not in labor force	34.3	34.9	40.2
Occupation of employed population			
[1] Managerial and professional specialty	27.2	27.6	12.2
[2] Technical, sales, and administrative support	32.4	33.0	20.3
[3] Service	12.6	14.2	22.0
[4] Farming, forestry, and fishing	2.3	2.1	5.8
[5] Precision production, craft and repair	11.3	9.9	14.1
[6] Operators, fabricators, and laborers	14.3	13.2	25.7

Note. From "New Language Information Reveals Differences by English-Speaking Ability," by D. Waggoner, July 1995, *Numbers and Needs, 5*(4), p. 2. [Numbers added.] Copyright 1995 by Dorothy Waggoner. Reprinted with permission. Data are from "Social and Economic Characteristics of Selected Language Groups for U.S. and States: 1990" (PH-L 159).

Table 11. Estimated Numbers of High School Graduates and High School Graduation Rates of the Total Population and Non-English Speakers, Aged 25 Years and Older, by Gender, Nativity, and Selected Home Language: United States, 1990 (Numbers in thousands)

Nativity and home language	Total		Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	119,525	75.2	56,939	75.7	62,586	74.8
Native-born	110,516	77.0	52,567	77.4	57,949	76.6
Foreign-born	9,008	58.8	4,372	60.0	4,636	57.6
Non-English speakers	217	15.2	90	16.5	127	14.4
Native-born	51	19.4	22	23.3	29	17.3
Foreign-born	166	14.3	69	15.1	97	13.8
Armenian-speaking	3	21.4	1	23.5	1	20.0
Asian Indian language-speaking	2	14.9	1	27.6	1	11.9
Chinese-speaking	21	19.7	9	25.5	12	16.7
Italian-speaking	2	13.8	1	17.4	1	12.2
Korean-speaking	12	37.2	4	52.8	8	32.1
Mon-Khmer-speaking	1	10.5	*	14.1	1	9.0
Polish-speaking	5	44.2	3	50.3	3	39.7
Portuguese-speaking	3	10.6	1	12.4	1	9.3
Russian-speaking	7	49.1	3	53.8	4	46.4
Spanish-speaking	138	12.8	58	13.4	80	12.4
Vietnamese-speaking	4	17.1	2	25.4	2	13.6

Note. Detail may not add to total because of rounding. From "Educational Attainment of Non-English Speakers Varies," by D. Waggoner, July 1996, *Numbers and Needs*, 6(4), p. 2. Copyright 1996 by Dorothy Waggoner. Reprinted with permission. Data are from "Detailed Cross-tabulations of Selected Language Groups for States: 1990" [CD-ROM].

Table 12. Estimated Numbers and Percentages of the Total Population and Non-English Speakers, Aged 25 Years and Older, with Fewer than Five Years of Schooling, by Gender, Nativity, and Selected Home Language: United States, 1990 (Numbers in thousands)

Nativity and Home language	Total		Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	4,272	2.7	2110	2.8	2161	2.6
Native-born	2,526	1.8	1,306	1.9	1,220	1.6
Foreign-born	1,746	11.4	804	11.0	941	11.7
Non-English speakers	607	42.6	223	40.8	383	43.7
Native-born	66	25.1	19	20.6	47	27.6
Foreign-born	540	46.6	204	45.0	337	47.6
Armenian-speaking	5	38.2	2	36.2	3	39.5
Asian Indian language-speaking	5	44.4	1	36.2	4	46.3
Chinese-speaking	47	43.8	12	34.3	34	48.7
Italian-speaking	8	48.4	2	42.5	6	51.0
Korean-speaking	8	24.0	1	13.8	7	27.2
Mon-Khmer-speaking	9	78.9	2	71.6	7	81.9
Polish-speaking	1	12.1	*	7.4	1	15.6
Portuguese-speaking	17	65.8	7	63.7	10	67.3
Russian-speaking	2	18.1	1	17.4	2	18.5
Spanish-speaking	463	42.9	185	42.5	277	43.2
Vietnamese-speaking	10	46.6	2	37.0	7	50.6

Note. Detail may not add to total because of rounding. From "Educational Attainment of Non-English Speakers Varies," by D. Waggoner, July 1996, *Numbers and Needs, 6*(4), p. 3. Copyright 1996 by Dorothy Waggoner. Reprinted with permission. Data are from "Detailed Cross-tabulations of Selected Language Groups for States: 1990" [CD-ROM].

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* Fewer than an estimated 1,000 people.

Table 13. Trends in Enrollment of LEP Students: United States, 1986-87 to 1996-97

Year	SEAs participating	LEP enrollment	LEP change from prior year	
			N	%
1986-87	-	1,553,918	-	-
1987-88	-	1,656,180	102,262	6.6%
1988-89	-	1,946,107	289,927	17.5%
1989-90	-	2,154,781	208,674	10.7%
1990-91	51 of 57	2,232,500	77,719	3.6%
1991-92	52 of 57	2,430,712	198,212	8.9%
1992-93	54 of 59	2,735,952	305,240	12.6%
1993-94	55 of 59	3,037,922	301,970	11.0%
1994-95	53 of 59	3,184,696	146,774	4.8%
1995-96	55 of 60	3,228,799	44,103	1.4%
1996-97	54 of 60	3,452,073	223,259	6.9%

Note. From "How Has the Limited English Proficient Student Population Changed in Recent Years?" by R. Macías, 1998, *AskNCBE* [Online], *8*, Table 1. Available: http://www.ncbe.gwu.edu/askncbe/faqs/08leps.htm [19 November, 1998]. Reprinted with permission from the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE), The George Washington University, Washington, DC.

Data for 1994-95 through 1996-97 are from *Summary Report of the Survey of the States' Limited English Proficient Students and Available Educational Programs and Services, 1996-97*, by R. Macías, et al., 1998, Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. Data for 1991-92 and 1993-94 are from *Summary Report of the Survey of the States' Limited English Proficient Students and Available Educational Programs and Services, 1993-94*, by the Special Issues and Analysis Center, 1995, Washington, DC: Development Associates. Data for 1986-87 are from *Summary of Bilingual Education State Educational Agency Program Survey of States and Available Educational Services,1993-94*, by Donly et al., 1995, prepared under contract for the U.S. Department of Education by Development Associates, Inc., in Arlington, VA.

Table 14. Summary of Total Student and LEP Enrollments, by Type of Schooling, 1994-95

Jurisdiction and type of school enrollment	Total enrollment	LEP students	
		N	%
States and DC[a]			
Public school students	42,508,820	2,968,915	7.0
Nonpublic school students	4,421,794	49,127	1.1
Total students	46,930,614	3,018,042	6.4
Outlying Jurisdictions[b]			
Public school students	660,011	163,286	24.7
Nonpublic school students	155,210	3,368	2.2
Total students	815,221	166,654	20.4
States, DC and Outlying Jurisdictions			
Public school students	43,168,831	3,132,201	7.3
Nonpublic school students	4,577,004	52,495	1.1
Totals	47,745,835	3,184,696	6.7

Note. From *Summary Report of the Survey of the States' Limited English Proficient Students and Available Educational Programs and Services, 1994-1995* (Table 2.1), by R. Macias and C. Kelly, 1996. Available: http://www.ncbe.gwu.edu/ncbepubs/seareports/94-95/index.html#TOC [5 August 1998]. Reprinted with permission from the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE), The George Washington University, Washington, DC. Data is from the State Educational Agencies Survey forms submitted by the SEAs.

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[a] These data do not include Virgina and West Virginia.

[b] Not including Guam, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, and the Northern Marianas.

Table 15. States with the Highest Percentage of LEP Enrollments, 1994-95

Rank	State	LEP enrollment	Percentage of state LEP enrollment	Cumulative LEP enrolled
1	American Samoa	14,458	96.9	14,458
2	Palau	2,823	82.0	17,281
3	New Mexico	84,457	23.8	101,738
4	Alaska	29,929	23.2	131,667
5	California	1,262,982	21.3	1,394,649
6	Virgin Islands	5,604	18.9	1,400,253
7	Puerto Rico[a]	143,769	18.7	1,544,022
8	Arizona	98,128	12.8	1,642,150
9	Texas	457,437	12.1	2,099,587
10	Nevada	23,390	8.9	2,122,977

Note. From *Summary Report of the Survey of the States' Limited English Proficient Students and Available Educational Programs and Services, 1994-1995* (Table 2.5), by R. Macías and C. Kelly, 1996. Available: http://www.ncbe.gwu.edu/ncbepubs/seareports/94-95/index.html#TOC [5 August 1998]. Reprinted with permission from the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE), The George Washington University, Washington, DC. Data is from the State Educational Agencies Survey forms submitted by the SEAs.

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[a] Limited Spanish proficient is used in place of limited English proficient for Puerto Rico.

Table 16. Number of the LEP Students in Twenty Most Common Language Groups (District Mail Survey)

Language groups	Number of LEP students	Percentage of LEP students
Spanish	1,682,560	72.9
Vietnamese	90,922	3.9
Hmong	42,305	1.8
Cantonese	38,693	1.7
Cambodian	37,742	1.6
Korean	36,568	1.6
Laotian	29,838	1.3
Navajo	28,913	1.3
Tagalog	24,516	1.1
Russian	21,903	0.9
Creole (French)	21,850	0.9
Arabic	20,318	0.9
Portuguese	15,298	0.7
Japanese	13,913	0.6
Armenian	11,916	0.5
Chinese (unspec.)	11,540	0.5
Mandarin	11,020	0.5
Farsi	8,563	0.4
Hindi	7,905	0.3
Polish	6,747	0.3

Note. The number of respondents to the item was 733; this was 98.4 percent of those who responded to the survey. The results are weighted to be nationally representative. From *Descriptive Study of Services to Limited English Proficient Students: Vol. 1. Summary of Findings and Conclusions* (Table II-5), by H. L. Fleischman and P. J. Hopstock, 1993, prepared for the U.S. Department of Education by Development Associates, Inc., Arlington, VA.

Table 17. Number of LEP Students in Each Grade Level (District Mail Survey)

Grade Level	Number of LEP students	Percentage of LEP students in grade level	Total students in U.S.	Percentage LEP of total students
Kindergarten	277,914	12.1	3,305,619	8.4
1st grade	279,257	12.1	3,554,274	7.9
2nd grade	246,979	10.7	3,359,193	7.4
3rd grade	221,936	9.6	3,333,285	6.7
4th grade	197,211	8.6	3,312,443	6.0
5th grade	177,412	7.7	3,268,381	5.4
6th grade	150,421	6.5	3,238,095	4.6
7th grade	134,907	5.9	3,180,120	4.2
8th grade	125,849	5.5	3,019,826	4.2
9th grade	159,208	6.9	3,310,290	4.8
10th grade	137,101	5.9	2,913,951	4.7
11th grade	103,337	4.5	2,642,554	3.9
12th grade	75,423	3.3	2,390,329	3.2
Ungraded	16,469	0.7	—	—
Total	2,303,425	100.0	42,000,343	5.5

Note. The number of respondents to the item was 735; this was 98.7 percentof those who responded to the survey. The results are weighted to be nationally representative. From *Descriptive Study of Services to Limited English Proficient Students: Vol. 1. Summary of Findings and Conclusions* (Table II-4), by H. L. Fleischman and P. J. Hopstock, 1993, prepared for the U.S. Department of Education by Development Associates, Inc., Arlington, VA.

Table 18. Methods Used by State Educational Agencies for Identifying LEP Students, 1994 - 95

Rank	Method	Number of states using method
1	Language proficiency test	52
2	Home language survey	48
3	Teacher observations	41
4	Parent information	40
5	Referral	36
6	Achievement test	36
7	Student records	35
8	Student grades	33
9	Teacher interview	32
10	Informal assessment	30
11	Criterion referenced test	21
—	Other methods	22

Note. From *Summary Report of the Survey of the States' Limited English Proficient Students and Available Educational Programs and Services, 1994-1995* (Table 2.7), by R. Macías and C. Kelly, 1996. Available: http://www.ncbe.gwu.edu/ncbepubs/seareports/94-95/index.html#TOC [5 August 1998]. Reprinted with permission from the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE), The George Washington University, Washington, DC. Data is from the State Educational Agencies Survey forms submitted by the SEAs.

Table 19. LEP Students Enrolled in Special Programs, by Type of Program, 1991-92 to 1994-95 (multiple participation allowed)

Type of Program	1991-92		1992-93		1993-94		1994-95	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Title VII federal programs								
Transitional bilingual ed.	188,344	7.7	207,953	7.9	249,001	8.2	190,770	6.0
Developmental bilingual ed.	6,085	0.3	8,587	0.3	8,389	0.3	9,855	0.3
Special alt. instruction program	46,528	1.9	79,714	3.0	73,715	2.4	64,540	2.0
Recent arrivals	6,764	0.3	13,312	0.5	11,276	0.4	—	—
Magnet schools	1,054	0.0	656	0.0	—	—	—	—
Family English literacy program	9,169	0.4	8,481	0.3	6,828	0.2	2,701	0.1
Special populations	4,103	0.2	13,972	0.5	2,859	0.1	30,921	1.0
Total Title VII programs	262,047	10.8	332,675	12.7	352,068	11.6	298,787	9.4
Other federal programs								
Chapter I	764,599	31.5	794,994	30.3	942,687	31.0	1,482,943	46.9
Migrant	182,366	7.5	226,653	8.6	332,775	11.0	333,142	10.5
Even start	13,408	0.6	8,570	0.3	6,956	0.2	3,017	0.1
Emergency immigrant ed. asst. Act	725,820	29.9	705,825	26.9	756,521	24.9	757,918	23.9
Special education	153,170	6.3	165,187	6.3	188,107	6.2	185,945	5.9
Vocational education	72,008	3.0	72,341	2.8	186,314	6.1	182,004	5.8
"Other" federal programs	—	—	—	—	—	—	108,018	3.4

Total ALL federal programs	2,173,418	89.4	2,306,245	88.0	2,765,428	91.0	3,351,774	105.9
State and local programs								
State and local bilingual ed.	1,181,794	48.6	1,320,787	50.4	1,437,138	47.3	1,214,817	38.4
State and local ESL-only	647,338	26.6	601,201	22.9	757,203	24.9	946,210	29.9
"Other" state and local programs[a]	—	0.0	—	0.0	—	0.0	276,696	8.7
Total state and local programs	1,829,132	75.3	1,921,988	73.3	2,194,341	72.2	2,437,723	77.0
Total federal and state programs	4,002,550	164.7	4,228,233	161.3	4,959,769	163.3	5,789,497	182.9

Note. From *Summary Report of the Survey of the States' Limited English Proficient Students and Available Educational Programs and Services, 1994-1995* (Table 4.2), by R. Macías and C. Kelly, 1996. Available: http://www.ncbe.gwu.edu/ncbepubs/seareports/94-95/index.html#TOC [5 August 1998]. Reprinted with permission from the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE), The George Washington University, Washington, DC.

The data for 1994-95 were taken from State Educational Agency survey forms. The data for 1991-1994 were taken from *Summary Report of the Survey of the States' Limited English Proficient Students and Available Educational Programs and Services, 1993-94*, by the Special Issues and Analysis Center (SIAC), 1995, Washington, DC: Development Associates, and from SAIC (1993), Tables B8 and B7 respectively. The percentages were calculated on the total enrollment number of LEP students in the same sources, Tables B1 and Tables B1A respectively. The percentages in some of the programs totals are greater than 100 percent because of multiple participation in programs.

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[a] New York does not separate bilingual education and English as a second language programs. Since this was a condition of answering the question, it is reported as "other programs."

Table 20. Special Instructional Services Provided by Schools and Special Instructional Services Received by Students

	Service type	Percentage of schools providing the service[a]	Percentage of students receiving the service[b]
1.	No special services	6.5	1.9
2.	Non-LEP designed services	7.7	1.3
3.	Some LEP services in English	48.9	17.4
4.	Some LEP services; some use of student's native language	14.0	6.4
5.	Some LEP services; significant use of student's native language	5.6	2.8
6.	Intensive LEP services; provided in English	20.0	13.3
7.	Intensive LEP services; some use of student's native language	14.2	14.4
8.	Intensive LEP services; significant use of student's native language	20.4	33.7
9.	Unknown	20.5	9.0

Note. The number of respondents to these items was 1677; this was 100 percent of those who responded to the survey. From *Descriptive Study of Services to Limited English Proficient Students: Vol. 1. Summary of Findings and Conclusions*, by H. L. Fleischman and P. J. Hopstock, 1993, prepared for the U.S. Department of Education by Development Associates, Inc., Arlington, VA. The data in column 2 are from Table IV-6; the data in column 3 are from Table IV-7.

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[a] A school may provide more than one type of instructional service; multiple responses are possible.

[b] A student receives only one type of service.

Table 21. U.S. Elementary Bilingual and ESL Program Structures Implementing a Transitional Model for Language Minority Speakers

Type of program	Language used in the classroom	Typical type of student	Type of instruction	Goal of program
Submersion with English as a second language (ESL) [A & H1]	English	ELLs from mixed or similar language background	Pull-out English language instruction focused on grammar, vocabulary, and communication.	English language proficiency
Submersion with content-based ESL[a] [A & H 2]	English	ELLs from mixed or similar language background	Specific periods of English language instruction, structured around academic content.	English language proficiency
Sheltered instruction [A & H 3], also called Structured immersion [A & H 4]	English	ELLs from mixed or similar language background	Subject matter instruction in English, modified so that it is accessible to students' levels of English proficiency.	English language proficiency
Transitional bilingual education (TBE), Early-Exit or Late-Exit[a] [A & H 5]	Some use of the minority language and English	ELLs from similar language background	Some instruction through the native language; exposure to increasing amounts of English over a short period of time. Early Exit = 1 to 3 years Late Exit = 3 to 6 years	English language proficiency

Note. Types of programs are numbered to correspond with the typology offered by August and Hakuta, 1997, pp. 19-20, which is reproduced on pages 30-31 of this report. The label [*A & H 1*] corresponds to their label *English as a Second Language* (ESL), [*A & H 2*] to their *Content-based ESL*, and so on.

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[a] Illustrated with a vignette in the text.

Table 22. U.S. Elementary Bilingual and ESL Program Structures Implementing a Maintenance Model for Language Minority Speakers

Type of program	Language used in the classroom	Typical type of student	Type of instruction	Goal of program
TBE with a second language component[a]	Minority language and English	ELLs from similar language background and some native speakers of English	Same as TBE (see Table 21) except that minority language speakers continue to receive limited instruction in the minority language and native speakers of English are offered limited instruction in the minority language as well.	Bilingualism and biliteracy
Maintenance bilingual education (MBE) [A & H 6]	Minority language and English	ELLs from similar language background	Significant amounts of subject matter instruction in the native language; exposure to increasing amounts of English over many years of schooling (from 7 to 13 years).	Bilingualism and biliteracy

Note. Types of programs are numbered to correspond with the typology offered by August and Hakuta, 1997, pp. 19-20, which is reproduced on pages 30-31 of this report. The label [*A & H 1*] corresponds to their label *English as a Second Language (ESL)*, [*A & H 2*] to their *Content-based ESL*, and so on.

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[a] Illustrated with a vignette in the text.

Table 23. U.S. Elementary Bilingual and ESL Program Structures Implementing an Enrichment Model for Language Majority and Minority Speakers

Type of program	Language used in the classroom	Typical type of student	Type of instruction	Goal of program
Two-way bilingual programs [A & H 7] a) Dual Immersion[a] b) Two-way maintenance (Hornberger, 1991, 227-233).	Minority language and English	Approximately half of the students are native speakers of English and half are language minorities from a similar language background	Approximately half of the instructional content is taught in English and half in the minority language. Programs vary according to exact proportions of language teaching and timeline for development.	Bilingualism and biliteracy
Immersion	Minority langauge and English	Most or all students are native speakers of English	Instruction in early years immerses students in minority language	Bilingualism and biliteracy

Note. Types of programs are numbered to correspond with the typology offered by August and Hakuta, 1997, pp. 19-20, which is reproduced on pages 30-31 of this report. The label [*A & H 1*] corresponds to their label *English as a Second Language* (ESL), [*A & H 2*] to their *Content-based ESL*, and so on.

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[a] Illustrated with a vignette in the text.

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Appendix A. U.S. Governmental and Educational Systems

The U.S. System of Government

In the United States, certain powers and responsibilities are vested in the federal government and others belong to the states and local government. According to the Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States." Powers delegated to the federal government include providing for the national defense, making treaties, regulating interstate commerce, minting money, levying tariffs, and guaranteeing educational opportunities. Consequently, most of the laws that impact people's daily lives are the purview of state and local governments. For example, states issue driver's licenses, establish speed limits, regulate gambling and set education standards, and local governments provide police and fire protection, establish land use zones (e.g. residential, commercial, industrial), issue business licenses and provide public schools.

State governments generally resemble the federal government. There are, however, significant differences that impact education policies and the type of educational services provided. Like the federal government, states have three branches: executive (governor), legislative (state assemblies) and judicial (state Supreme Courts and state courts). At the federal level, the President and Vice President are elected; other members of the administration, however, are appointed with the approval of the Congress, specifically, the Senate. As with the federal government, state executives are elected, but unlike the Federal government, other members of a state's executive branch may be elected as well. So it is possible to have a governor from one political party with a particular political philosophy while the state's top education official is from another party with an opposing political philosophy.

The processes by which laws are enacted also may differ. At the Federal level, legislation is introduced into the two houses of Congress (House of Representatives and Senate) by a member or members of each respective house. If passed by Congress, the legislation is signed or vetoed by the President. The President may also take no action (pocket veto); in which case, after a specified period of time, it becomes law without the President's signature. The process is similar in the fifty states; however, some states have a referendum system for enacting laws. Under the referendum system, if a set number of registered voters sign a petition of support, a proposed piece of legislation is placed on the general ballot, bypassing the state assembly. If voted for by a majority of the people casting a ballot, it becomes law. Some of the issues that are voted on are mundane while others have great bearing on the quality of life for citizens of that state.

Two such referendum issues that were voted on and passed in the state of Oregon considered prohibiting using dogs for bear hunting and allowing doctor-assisted suicide. This referendum process has had a great impact on educational policy concerning language education.

The judiciary is the third branch of the U.S. political system. There are three principle layers to the judicial system: the federal courts, state courts and local courts. Depending upon the state, there may be several layers of local courts. At the top is the U.S. Supreme Court. Below it are the 12 U.S. Courts of Appeals and the 94 U.S. District Courts. Like the federal judiciary, state courts typically have three levels as well: state Supreme Court, state courts of appeal, and trial courts. State and local courts handle most criminal matters, marital disputes, commercial contracts, and other day-to-day matters. The federal courts, in contrast, have power to decide only those cases over which the Constitution gives them authority and cases for which state courts are inappropriate or might be suspected of partiality. Examples of such cases are controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, and between citizens of different states. Federal courts also serve as the courts of appeal after the state courts of appeal and state Supreme Courts. The case of the Arizona English Only law mentioned in this report[46] is an example. An employee of the state of Arizona had sued the state over the Arizona English Only law. The case made its way to the state Supreme Court, which ruled against the state of Arizona. The state appealed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, which chose not to hear the appeal due to a technicality, thus sending the case back to the state Supreme Court (English-only Debate, 1996)

This federal system has resulted in a decentralized system of government in which power and responsibilities are distributed among federal, state and local governments, with the states and local authorities most involved in people's daily lives. The ways in which laws are created and enacted have become of critical importance, in that, referendum systems in some states allow laws to be enacted without going through the legislative process in which issues are, theoretically, researched, debated and negotiated by state legislatures. When a bill goes through the legislative process, "cooler heads" are likely to prevail, and extreme measures are moderated or eliminated. With the availability of the referendum, issues that would not make it through the legislative process but are promoted by well financed and highly organized single-interest groups may be successful. This has been the case with some language and educational laws. When laws are passed that negatively affect individuals or groups of people, they are often contested in the courts. As a result, the courts have come to play a significant role in determining laws and policies.

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[46] See the section entitled *Language Policy in the United States.*

The U. S. System of Education[47]

The United States has a heritage of local control of schools. This heritage is partially due to geographic factors, but it is also by design. In accordance with the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, the federal government has no authority to establish a national education system, nor do federal agencies ordinarily prescribe policy or curriculum for local schools. Such decisions are made at the state or local level. Consequently, the system of education in the United States is highly decentralized, and laws governing the structure and content of educational programs may vary greatly from state to state, and district to district. Some of these laws are prescriptive; others are broad enough to allow local school districts considerable flexibility in the way they operate their schools.

The role of the federal government in education has been one of broad leadership without control. It is the legal responsibility of federal authorities to safeguard the right of every citizen to gain equal access to free public institutions and equal opportunity in the pursuit of learning. While fulfilling this responsibility, the federal government also attempts to improve the quality of education through the funding of research, direct aid to students, and the dissemination of knowledge about teaching and learning. To achieve these goals, the Congress has enacted legislation establishing a variety of funded programs, most, though not all, administered by the U.S. Department of Education (U.S. Department of Education, 1998a).

Over the years, state legislatures have enacted laws to govern the organization and operation of elementary and secondary schools. In most states, policies and requirements are determined by a state board of education and carried out under the leadership of a chief state school officer (the title varies with the state) and a staff of professional educators in a state department of education.

Typically, state regulations for public schools cover the length of the school day and school year, graduation requirements, standards for teacher certification, and other procedures involved in providing public education. About one half of the states have some sort of mandatory approval process for private schools that results in a license, accreditation, or registration for the school. A few states require that all private school teachers be certified by the state before they can teach in a private school. However, requirements vary from state to state, as does the manner in which such requirements are enforced.

With the exception of Hawaii, each state is divided into local administrative districts. Generally, local school districts are governed by a board of education, usually composed of five to seven members, who have either been appointed by other governmental officials or elected by citizens who live within the district. The local board operates the public school system through the superintendent and the district staff.

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[47] Unless otherwise cited, the information presented here is drawn from the U.S. Department of Education, 1998c.

The district school board and the superintendent of schools have a broad range of duties and responsibilities, including joint preparation of school budgets, hiring teachers and other personnel, and providing and maintaining school buildings. In addition, school boards and the superintendent of schools often have considerable latitude within state guidelines to determine curriculum. Their duties also include enacting regulations to govern the operation of schools. Such regulations must conform to state law (U.S. Department of Education, 1998a).

It is worth noting that, in keeping with the heritage of local control of schools, some districts violate state and federal laws,[3] either openly or through subversion. A current example is that of the situation in California where Proposition 227 was recently passed eliminating bilingual education in public schools. In open defiance of the new state law, the San Francisco Board of Education voted unanimously to continue bilingual programs (Colvin & Smith, 1998, para. 22). They were able to do so because the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights has a history of requiring that non-English speaking students be taught in their own language when there are a certain number of such students at a given grade level. A provision of the new California law allows, upon the request of the parents, the issuance of waivers exempting their children from English-only classes. Several California school districts are attempting to subvert the intent of the creators of the law by informing parents of non-English speaking children of the waiver provision and by providing them with waiver forms. School districts are also developing schedules and bussing plans to insure that students of a particular native language are present in sufficient concentration to meet the threshold number (Asimov, 1998, para. 16).

In summary, the system of education in the United States is reflective of the decentralized nature of the nation's political system. At the federal level, the primary responsibility is to ensure that rights are protected and that all citizens have equal opportunity. Particularly in the area of education, the federal government influences local policies and practices through grants and through enforcement of civil rights legislation, as interpreted by the courts. It is the responsibility of the states to enact laws governing standards, certification and organizational procedures, while local authorities are responsible for the day-to-day operations of the schools. Finally, there is a profound heritage of local control of schools that strongly influences and inhibits large-scale national education movements and programs.

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[3] An example of schools violating federal laws occurs in cases of public schools that continue to conduct school wide prayer in violation of the Supreme Court's interpretation of the establishment clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution.

Appendix B. Improving America's Schools Act of 1994, Title VII

"PART E—GENERAL PROVISIONS

"SEC. 7501. DEFINITIONS; REGULATIONS.

"Except as otherwise provided, for purposes of this title-

"(8) Limited english proficiency and limited english proficient.—The terms 'limited English proficiency' and 'limited English proficient', when used with reference to an individual, mean an individual—

"(A) who—

"(i) was not born in the United States or whose native language is a language other than English and comes from an environment where a language other than English is dominant; or

"(ii) is a Native American or Alaska Native or who is a native resident of the outlying areas and comes from an environment where a language other than English has had a significant impact on such individual's level of English language proficiency; or

"(iii) is migratory and whose native language is other than English and comes from an environment where a language other than English is dominant; and

"(B) who has sufficient difficulty speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language and whose difficulties may deny such individual the opportunity to learn successfully in classrooms where the language of instruction is English or to participate fully in our society.

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